TACITUS
AGRICOLA · GERMANIA

50¢

E. Humphrey
Brown University '29

I His youth & training
Military exp. in Britain under
Suetonius Paulinus
II Offices: - in Rome under Nero
Questor of Asia
Tribune of people
III Command of 20th. legion in Brit
(throne seized by Vespasian)
IV. In command of Aquitania
V. Command of Britain
a. Description of Britain
(a) appearance (b) people (c) climate
b. First conquest of Britain -
various governors
c. Suetonius Paulinus - revolt
d. Various rulers - bad conditions
Cerialis - Brigants
Frontinus - Silurians
Agricola's rule:
Wise & moderate - grain abuses
stopped
Speech of Calgacus
Speech of Agricola

MAP OF THE BRITISH ISLES ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE AGRICOLA

THE LIFE OF AGRICOLA

AND

THE GERMANIA

BY

CORNELIUS TACITUS

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PREFACE

In this revision of my father's edition of the Agricola and Germania, the effort has been made to bring the text and the annotation up to date through the use of the most important critical and exegetical material that has appeared since the publication of the old edition, and at the same time to preserve the general character of that edition and to retain so far as possible such views on important historical questions as the original editor had developed through long and careful study of the subject. In cases of this sort, where the opinions held by more recent scholars have appeared to be very generally opposed to his, his notes have been for the most part retained, but have been supplemented by statements of certain opposing views.

Professor Hendrickson and myself have collaborated (particularly in the case of the Agricola) in the revision of the text and annotation, and he has contributed the new introductions to both treatises. Maps, which the old edition lacked, have been provided, and tables showing the chief deviations of the present text from that of the old edition and of Halm are given in an appendix.

Sincere thanks are due to Professor M. S. Slaughter and Professor G. C. Fiske of the University of Wisconsin for assistance in working over the commentary, and to Professor D. C. Munro of Wisconsin and Professor C. H. Haskins of Harvard for suggestions in regard to the bibliography for the Germania.

KATHARINE ALLEN

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INTRODUCTION TO THE FIRST EDITION[1]

LIFE AND WORKS OF TACITUS

Cornelius[2] Tacitus, the greatest of the Roman historians, flourished in the reign of the emperor Trajan (A.D. 98–117). There is no positive evidence as to the place of his birth, or its date, or the time of his death. A tradition of no great value makes him a native of Interamna. This was the birthplace of the emperor Tacitus, who claimed kinship with the historian. As to the year of his birth, we know only that he was somewhat older than his intimate friend, the younger Pliny, who was born A.D. 61 or 62. Pliny himself says (*Ep.* vii. 20) that they were *propemodum aequales;* but adds: *adulescentulus, cum iam tu fama gloriaque floreres, te sequi . . . concupiscebam.* These expressions may point to a difference in age of four or five, possibly even eight or ten, years; we cannot well place the birth of Tacitus earlier than 51 or later than 56. The best authorities are generally agreed upon A.D. 54. Two or three considerations tell in favor of an earlier date. In the Life of Agricola (ch. 3) he appears to reckon himself among those who, being *iuvenes* at the accession of Domitian, had arrived *ad senectutem* under the rule of that

[1] Footnotes are by the reviser.

[2] The praenomen *Publius*, which is attested by the Medicean MS. of the *Annals*, is now generally accepted against the testimony of Sidonius Apollinaris, who twice uses the form *Gaius*. The evidence does not admit a positive statement of the historian's praenomen.

tyrant. Now forty-five was the age of *senectus* according to Roman law; and as Domitian died in 96, Tacitus can hardly have been born much later than 51. Again, the narration of the events of the years 68 and 69 in the Histories, appears to be that of an eye-witness; if so, we cannot suppose him to have been less than fifteen at that date. Another consideration is that Tacitus was praetor A.D. 88, which was the first year he could have held that office, under the rules of the Republic, if he had been born in 51. These rules were, it is true, no longer in force; nevertheless, it is reasonable to suppose that they still exerted some influence, and that this office would not be held much before the traditional age. It may be added that Pliny was probably not far from fifty-five when he made use of the expression *propemodum aequales;* and that this term might apply very well to two men of fifty-five and sixty-three or five. He probably died about A.D. 116.[1]

Of the events of his life very little is known. He married the daughter of Agricola in the year A.D. 78 (*Agr.* ch. 9), and it has been conjectured that he was a member of his military family during his administration of Aquitania the three previous years. He was praetor A.D. 88, and was afterwards absent from Rome for four years, during which period his father-in-law died, A.D. 93 (*Agr.* ch. 14). He was consul under Nerva, A.D. 97.[2] We learn from several

[1] It is quite possible, however, that Tacitus' life extended into the reign of Hadrian. The basis for the dating of his death is in *Ann.* 2, 61: *quod* (the Roman Empire) *nunc rubrum ad mare* (the Persian Gulf) *patescit.* This region was conquered by Trajan in 116 A.D. and given up by Hadrian soon after his accession in August, 117. Tacitus, then, cannot have died before 116, and he may have lived somewhat later than that date.

[2] He was also proconsul of Asia, under Trajan, as is attested by an inscription of Mylasa (in Caria) discovered in 1890.

passages in Pliny that he was a distinguished lawyer and orator, as well as historian.

It is almost by accident that we possess the writings of Tacitus, for the manuscripts in which they have come down to us are few,[1] and badly mutilated. These writings are: 1. *The Dialogue of Orators* (*Dialogus de Oratoribus*), an early[2] composition, so different in style from his later works that many have thought it could not have been written by him. 2. *The Life of Agricola*.[3] 3. *Germany*:[4] a description of the nations of Germany, which forms our best source of information as to their early condition. It is about as large a work as the *Agricola*. 4. *The Histories*,[5] in fourteen books: a detailed narration of events from the death of Nero, A.D. 68, to that of Domitian, A.D. 96. Only the first four books and part of the fifth are extant. 5. *The Annals*:[6] properly an introduction to the Histories, less full and minute, but in a more finished and maturer style. It consisted of sixteen books, and embraced the period from the death of Augustus, A.D. 14, to that of Nero, A.D. 68. Four books and parts of four others are missing. He planned also a history of the good times after Domitian, but seems never to have undertaken it.

[1] The Toletanus and Aesinus of the Agricola and Germania have, of course, come to light since this was written.

[2] There are two main views (with numberless variations) as to date and style. 1. It is Tacitus' earliest work, and its style belongs to that period of his life, his later works showing gradual development from this. 2. It belongs to the same general period as the Germania and the Agricola, and its style is determined by the example of Cicero's rhetorical dialogues. See Introd. to the *Germania*, p. 34.

[3] *De vita et moribus Iulii Agricolae.*

[4] The Latin title varies greatly in the MSS. *De origine et situ Germanorum* (BCc) is as well attested as any.

[5] *Historiae* (Plin. *Ep.* 7, 33; Tertull. *Apol.* 16).

[6] *Ab excessu divi Augusti*, MS; *Annales*, Tac. *Ann.* 4, 32.

Tacitus was in theory a republican, and had no liking for the empire. He knew very well that the Republic could never be restored, and was satisfied that the beneficent rule of Nerva and Trajan had solved the problem of government for the Romans, and that they now enjoyed the best practicable combination of liberty and authority. But he could not forget the horrors of the evil times that had gone before, and he gives full and unrestrained expression to his hatred of the tyranny of Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, and Domitian. His style glows with intensity of feeling when he speaks of them; and he often rises on these occasions into a stern and passionate eloquence. This appears also to have been his characteristic as an orator; for Pliny says that when engaged in the prosecution of a cruel and unjust provincial governor, he spoke *eloquentissime et, quod eximium orationi eius inest,* σεμνῶς, which last word we may render, 'in a stately, earnest style.' As a writer, he had the same characteristics; he excels in graphic power, though he is often obscure from excessive condensation: but the student is always repaid for his efforts by the intrinsic excellence of his writings.

THE AGRICOLA

The Life of Agricola stands by itself in ancient literature[1] as not merely the worthily related life of an eminent man, like those of Plutarch and Nepos, but a personal tribute of affection[2] and admiration by one of his own household. No classical work is therefore better fitted to form part of a course which aims to contain only what is

[1] But see p. xiii.

[2] *hic . . . liber, honori Agricolae soceri mei destinatus, professione pietatis* etc. *Agr.* 3.

intrinsically best and most characteristic. It is one of those *tonic* writings which help to elevate and strengthen the moral nature and build up character.

My aim, in the present edition, has been to meet the needs of such a course. I have left special philological training to the teacher, only making occasional reference to the leading grammars. On the other hand, I have undertaken to explain the historical references with great fullness, and to give needful assistance in all real difficulties. In the text I have for the most part followed Kritz,[1] but have not hesitated to vary from it when there seemed to be good reason, especially in several cases to restore the reading of the manuscripts. In preparing the commentary, I have been chiefly assisted by Kritz, but have also made use of Dräger, Church and Brodribb, and Freund. My special thanks are due to Prof. Tracy Peck of Cornell University, who has carefully read the whole proof, and whose suggestions have frequently caused me to change or modify my opinions.

WILLIAM FRANCIS ALLEN

MADISON, WIS., May 20, 1880

[1] For text adopted and authorities used in the revised edition see Appendix and Bibliography.

THE FORM OF THE AGRICOLA

In form the Agricola presents some peculiarities and divergences from the usual type of ancient biography which deserve special consideration. These are (1) the geographical and ethnographical description of Britain contained in ch. 10–12, (2) the review of the conquest of Britain down to the time of Agricola's administration (ch. 13–17), and (3) the annalistic presentation of the events of his seven years' rule, culminating in the speeches of the respective leaders before the decisive battle, with the description of the battle itself. The formal parallels for treatment of this sort are to be found not in the literature of ancient biography, but in ancient historical writing. Now the distinction between biography and history was somewhat more sharply drawn in antiquity than is usually the case in modern times. The two forms of literature had different origins and were controlled by different traditions. A modern biography of a man in public or military life would as a rule devote itself to the narrative of the deeds and events in the life of its subject in much the same way as the modern historian narrates the events of a historical period. But in antiquity the two types of literature were conceived of as having different ends, with correspondingly different treatment. The aim of history was not, in theory at least, different from the modern conception, viz. a truthful record of events and causes. Biography, on the other hand, did not aim at a detailed

presentation of deeds and events, but was concerned rather with characterization (usually laudatory), to which narrative was strictly subordinated. That is, deeds or events in the life of the subject of biography were introduced not for their own sake as details necessary to a complete picture, but as illustrations of qualities of character. In consequence, most of the lives of Plutarch or Nepos, for example, are very imperfect sources for the historical events in which their subjects figure. Biography was thought of rather as testimony to the character of an individual than as the record of a life.

While it is true that the portions of the Agricola referred to above reveal in form an approximation to the technique of historical composition, yet it is to be observed that within this external form the essential traits of ancient biographical writing, its emphasis upon characterization and its subordination of facts and events, appear unmistakably. A brief examination of almost any of the chapters dealing with the successive years of Agricola's administration will show this. So for example in chs. 18, 19, or 20 we find a most meager outline of events and facts with a corresponding stress upon the inferences for the character of Agricola which may be drawn from them. In ch. 18 his vigorous initiative in the face of temptations to idleness is shown in a prompt attack upon the rebellious Ordovices. The reputation for decisive action thus earned he follows up by a swift and unexpected invasion of the island of Mona, in which the ingenuity and perseverance of Agricola in overcoming obstacles to his plans are conspicuously revealed. His modesty in these successes increases his fame. Ch. 19 is devoted to a characterization of him as a regulator and administrator of civil affairs, and,

except by implication that certain reforms were effected, it contains no historical material. In ch. 20, which is ostensibly a record of the campaigns of his second summer, we have merely a characterization of Agricola as a general in the field, and the conquests to which this characterization is attached are given without geographical location and without indication of the tribes or peoples involved. Throughout these chapters, which are typical of the whole treatment, we have in fact a laudatory presentation of a series of qualities of character (*virtutes*) connected by a very slender thread with the record of actual deeds.

Similarly, the speeches of the respective leaders before the final battle which completed the subjugation of Britain (ch. 30–34) are to be judged somewhat differently from the usual speeches which are found in ancient historians (as e.g. in Livy book 21). Speeches, as a rule, are introduced by the historians to lend dramatic vividness to the narrative and to afford an opportunity for a rhetorical summary of the situation which defeat or victory will establish. Doubtless these motives were present to Tacitus in this instance, but over and above this purpose he uses the speeches for setting in high light the work which Agricola had accomplished. He is thus, for example, able to put into the mouth of Agricola himself the claims of merit which as his biographer he urges — the complete exploration and subjugation of Britain (*inventa Britannia et subacta*, ch. 33). In the concluding words of the same speech — Agricola's appeal to the soldiers to crown the work of fifty years' conquest with one great day (*imponite quinquaginta annis magnum diem*) — we have a compact and effective summary of the claims which Tacitus urges for the memory of his father-in-law's labors in Britain.

While, therefore, this portion of the Agricola displays in some external features of treatment the customary manner of historical composition, yet essentially it is animated by the same spirit of laudatory characterization which belongs to ancient biography. Nor has Tacitus disguised his purpose. For in his preface (at the end of chap. 3) he says expressly (in contrast to the history which he proposes to write) that the present work is devoted to the honor of his father-in-law. It will be praised, he continues, as a work of filial piety, or at least condoned.

CORNELII TACITI
DE VITA ET MORIBUS IULII AGRICOLAE

I. Clarorum virorum facta moresque posteris tradere, antiquitus usitatum, ne nostris quidem temporibus quamquam incuriosa suorum aetas omisit, quotiens magna aliqua ac nobilis virtus vicit ac supergressa est vitium parvis magnisque civitatibus commune, ignorantiam recti et invidiam. Sed apud priores, ut agere digna memoratu pronum magisque in aperto erat, ita celeberrimus quisque ingenio ad prodendam virtutis memoriam, sine gratia aut ambitione, bonae tantum conscientiae pretio ducebatur. Ac plerique suam ipsi vitam narrare fiduciam potius morum quam adrogantiam arbitrati sunt, nec id Rutilio et Scauro citra fidem aut obtrectationi fuit: adeo virtutes isdem temporibus optime aestimantur, quibus facillime gignuntur. At nunc narraturo mihi vitam defuncti hominis venia opus fuit, quam non petissem incusaturus. Tam saeva et infesta virtutibus tempora.

II. Legimus, cum Aruleno Rustico Paetus Thrasea, Herennio Senecioni Priscus Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse, neque in ipsos modo auctores, sed in libros quoque eorum saevitum, delegato triumviris ministerio, ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur. Scilicet illo igne vocem

populi Romani et libertatem senatus et conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur, expulsis insuper sapientiae professoribus atque omni bona arte in exsilium acta, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret. Dedimus profecto grande patientiae documentum; et sicut vetus aetas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones etiam loquendi audiendique commercio. Memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in nostra potestate esset oblivisci quam tacere. III. Nunc demum redit animus; et quamquam primo statim beatissimi saeculi ortu Nerva Caesar res olim dissociabiles miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem, augeatque cotidie felicitatem temporum Nerva Traianus, nec spem modo ac votum Securitas publica, sed ipsius voti fiduciam ac robur adsumpserit, natura tamen infirmitatis humanae tardiora sunt remedia quam mala; et ut corpora nostra lente augescunt, cito exstinguuntur, sic ingenia studiaque oppresseris facilius quam revocaveris. Subit quippe etiam ipsius inertiae dulcedo, et invisa primo desidia postremo amatur. Quid? si per quindecim annos, grande mortalis aevi spatium, multi fortuitis casibus, promptissimus quisque saevitia principis interciderunt, pauci, ut ita dixerim, non modo aliorum sed etiam nostri superstites sumus, exemptis e media vita tot annis, quibus iuvenes ad senectutem, senes prope ad ipsos exactae aetatis terminos per silentium venimus. Non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis ac testimonium praesentium bonorum composuisse. Hic interim liber honori Agricolae soceri mei destinatus, professione pietatis aut laudatus erit aut excusatus.

IV. GNAEUS IULIUS AGRICOLA, vetere et inlustri Foroiuliensium colonia ortus, utrumque avum procuratorem Caesarum habuit, quae equestris nobilitas est. Pater illi Iulius Graecinus, senatorii ordinis, studio eloquentiae sapientiaeque notus, iisque ipsis virtutibus iram Gaii Caesaris meritus: namque M. Silanum accusare iussus et, quia abnuerat, interfectus est. Mater Iulia Procilla fuit, rarae castitatis. In huius sinu indulgentiaque educatus per omnem honestarum artium cultum pueritiam adulescentiamque transegit. Arcebat eum ab inlecebris peccantium praeter ipsius bonam integramque naturam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac magistram studiorum Massiliam habuit, locum Graeca comitate et provinciali parsimonia mixtum ac bene compositum. Memoria teneo solitum ipsum narrare se prima in iuventa studium philosophiae acrius, ultra quam concessum Romano ac senatori, hausisse, ni prudentia matris incensum ac flagrantem animum coercuisset. Scilicet sublime et erectum ingenium pulchritudinem ac speciem magnae excelsaeque gloriae vehementius quam caute adpetebat. Mox mitigavit ratio et aetas, retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum.

V. Prima castrorum rudimenta in Britannia Suetonio Paulino, diligenti ac moderato duci, adprobavit, electus quem contubernio aestimaret. Nec Agricola licenter, more iuvenum qui militiam in lasciviam vertunt, neque segniter ad voluptates et commeatus titulum tribunatus et inscitiam rettulit: sed noscere provinciam, nosci exercitui, discere a peritis, sequi optimos, nihil adpetere in iactationem, nihil ob formidinem recusare, simulque et anxius et intentus agere. Non sane alias exercitatior

magisque in ambiguo Britannia fuit. Trucidati veterani, incensae coloniae, intersepti exercitus; tum de salute, mox de victoria certavere. Quae cuncta etsi consiliis ductuque alterius agebantur ac summa rerum et recuperatae provinciae gloria in ducem cessit, artem et usum et stimulos addidere iuveni, intravitque animum militaris gloriae cupido, ingrata temporibus, quibus sinistra erga eminentes interpretatio nec minus periculum ex magna fama quam ex mala.

VI. Hinc ad capessendos magistratus in urbem degressus Domitiam Decidianam, splendidis natalibus ortam, sibi iunxit; idque matrimonium ad maiora nitenti decus ac robur fuit. Vixeruntque mira concordia, per mutuam caritatem et invicem se anteponendo, nisi quod in bona uxore tanto maior laus, quanto in mala plus culpae est. Sors quaesturae provinciam Asiam, proconsulem Salvium Titianum dedit, quorum neutro corruptus est, quamquam et provincia dives ac parata peccantibus, et proconsul in omnem aviditatem pronus quantalibet facilitate redempturus esset mutuam dissimulationem mali. Auctus est ibi filia in subsidium simul et solacium; nam filium ante sublatum brevi amisit. Mox inter quaesturam ac tribunatum plebis atque ipsum etiam tribunatus annum quiete et otio transiit, gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit. Idem praeturae tenor et silentium; nec enim iurisdictio obvenerat. Ludos et inania honoris medio rationis atque abundantiae duxit, uti longe a luxuria, ita famae propior. Tum electus a Galba ad dona templorum recognoscenda, diligentissima conquisitione fecit, ne cuius alterius sacrilegium respublica quam Neronis sensisset.

VII. Sequens annus gravi vulnere animum domum-

que eius adflixit. Nam classis Othoniana licenter vaga dum Intimilium (Liguriae pars est) hostiliter populatur, matrem Agricolae in praediis suis interfecit, praediaque ipsa et magnam patrimonii partem diripuit, quae causa caedis fuerat. Igitur ad sollemnia pietatis profectus Agricola, nuntio adfectati a Vespasiano imperii deprehensus ac statim in partes transgressus est. Initia principatus ac statum urbis Mucianus regebat, iuvene admodum Domitiano et ex paterna fortuna tantum licentiam usurpante. Is missum ad dilectus agendos Agricolam integreque ac strenue versatum vicensimae legioni tarde ad sacramentum transgressae praeposuit, ubi decessor seditiose agere narrabatur: quippe legatis quoque consularibus nimia ac formidolosa erat, nec legatus praetorius ad cohibendum potens, incertum suo an militum ingenio. Ita successor simul et ultor electus rarissima moderatione maluit videri invenisse bonos quam fecisse.

VIII. Praeerat tunc Britanniae Vettius Bolanus placidius quam feroci provincia dignum est. Temperavit Agricola vim suam ardoremque compescuit, ne increscceret, peritus obsequi eruditusque utilia honestis miscere. Brevi deinde Britannia consularem Petilium Cerialem accepit. Habuerunt virtutes spatium exemplorum. Sed primo Cerialis labores modo et discrimina, mox et gloriam communicabat: saepe parti exercitus in experimentum, aliquando maioribus copiis ex eventu praefecit. Nec Agricola umquam in suam famam gestis exsultavit: ad auctorem ac ducem ut minister fortunam referebat. Ita virtute in obsequendo, verecundia in praedicando, extra invidiam nec extra gloriam erat.

IX. Revertentem ab legatione legionis divus Vespa-

sianus inter patricios ascivit; ac deinde provinciae Aquitaniae praeposuit, splendidae imprimis dignitatis administratione ac spe consulatus, cui destinarat. Credunt plerique militaribus ingeniis subtilitatem deesse, quia castrensis iurisdictio secura et obtusior ac plura manu agens calliditatem fori non exerceat. Agricola naturali prudentia, quamvis inter togatos, facile iusteque agebat. Iam vero tempora curarum remissionumque divisa: ubi conventus ac iudicia poscerent, gravis, intentus, severus, et saepius misericors: ubi officio satisfactum, nihil ultra: potestatis personam, tristitiam et adrogantiam et avaritiam, exuerat; nec illi, quod est rarissimum, aut facilitas auctoritatem aut severitas amorem deminuit. Integritatem atque abstinentiam in tanto viro referre iniuria virtutum fuerit. Ne famam quidem, cui saepe etiam boni indulgent, ostentanda virtute aut per artem quaesivit: procul ab aemulatione adversus conlegas, procul a contentione adversus procuratores et vincere inglorium et atteri sordidum arbitrabatur. Minus triennium in ea legatione detentus ac statim ad spem consulatus revocatus est, comitante opinione Britanniam ei provinciam dari, nullis in hoc ipsius sermonibus, sed quia par videbatur. Haud semper errat fama; aliquando et eligit. Consul egregiae tum spei filiam iuveni mihi despondit ac post consulatum conlocavit et statim Britanniae praepositus est, adiecto pontificatus sacerdotio.

X. Britanniae situm populosque multis scriptoribus memoratos non in comparationem curae ingeniive referam, sed quia tum primum perdomita est: ita quae priores nondum comperta eloquentia percoluere, rerum

fide tradentur. Britannia, insularum quas Romana notitia complectitur maxima, spatio ac caelo in orientem Germaniae, in occidentem Hispaniae obtenditur, Gallis in meridiem etiam inspicitur. Septentrionalia eius, nullis contra terris, vasto atque aperto mari pulsantur. Formam totius Britanniae Livius veterum, Fabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi auctores oblongae scutulae vel bipenni adsimulavere. Et est ea facies citra Caledoniam, unde et in universum fama est transgressa; sed immensum et enorme spatium procurrentium extremo iam litore terrarum velut in cuneum tenuatur. Hanc oram novissimi maris tunc primum Romana classis circumvecta insulam esse Britanniam adfirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque. Dispecta est et Thule, quia hactenus iussum: et hiems adpetebat. Sed mare pigrum et grave remigantibus perhibent ne ventis quidem perinde attolli, credo quod rariores terrae montesque, causa ac materia tempestatum, et profunda moles continui maris tardius impellitur. Naturam Oceani atque aestus neque quaerere huius operis est, ac multi rettulere. Unum addiderim, nusquam latius dominari mare, multum fluminum huc atque illuc ferre, nec litore tenus accrescere aut resorberi, sed influere penitus atque ambire, et iugis etiam ac montibus inseri velut in suo.

XI. Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenae an advecti, ut inter barbaros parum compertum. Habitus corporum varii atque ex eo argumenta. Namque rutilae Caledoniam habitantium comae, magni artus Germanicam originem adseverant. Silurum colorati vultus, torti plerumque crines et posita contra

Hispania Hiberos veteres traiecisse easque sedes occupasse fidem faciunt. Proximi Gallis et similes sunt, seu durante originis vi, seu procurrentibus in diversa terris, positio caeli corporibus habitum dedit. In universum tamen aestimanti Gallos vicinam insulam occupasse credibile est. Eorum sacra deprehendas, superstitionum persuasiones; sermo haud multum diversus, in deposcendis periculis eadem audacia et, ubi advenere, in detrectandis eadem formido. Plus tamen ferociae Britanni praeferunt, ut quos nondum longa pax emollierit. Nam Gallos quoque in bellis floruisse accepimus; mox segnitia cum otio intravit, amissa virtute pariter ac libertate. Quod Britannorum olim victis evenit: ceteri manent quales Galli fuerunt. XII. In pedite robur; quaedam nationes et curru proeliantur; honestior auriga, clientes propugnant. Olim regibus parebant, nunc per principes factionibus et studiis trahuntur. Nec aliud adversus validissimas gentis pro nobis utilius quam quod in commune non consulunt. Rarus duabus tribusve civitatibus ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus: ita singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur.

Caelum crebris imbribus ac nebulis foedum; asperitas frigorum abest. Dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram; nox clara et extrema Britanniae parte brevis, ut finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas. Quod si nubes non officiant, aspici per noctem solis fulgorem, nec occidere et exsurgere, sed transire adfirmant. Scilicet extrema et plana terrarum humili umbra non erigunt tenebras, infraque caelum et sidera nox cadit. Solum, praeter oleam vitemque et cetera calidioribus terris oriri sueta, patiens frugum, fecundum: tarde mitescunt, cito proveniunt, eademque

utriusque rei causa, multus umor terrarum caelique. Fert Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla, pretium victoriae. Gignit et oceanus margarita, sed subfusca ac liventia. Quidam artem abesse legentibus arbitrantur; nam in rubro mari viva ac spirantia saxis avelli, in Britannia prout expulsa sint colligi: ego facilius crediderim naturam margaritis deesse quam nobis avaritiam. XIII. Ipsi Britanni dilectum ac tributa et iniuncta imperii munera impigre obeunt, si iniuriae absint: has aegre tolerant, iam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut serviant.

Igitur primus omnium Romanorum divus Iulius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus, quamquam prospera pugna terruerit incolas ac litore potitus sit, potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse. Mox bella civilia, et in rempublicam versa principum arma, ac longa oblivio Britanniae etiam in pace. Consilium id divus Augustus vocabat, Tiberius praeceptum. Agitasse Gaium Caesarem de intranda Britannia satis constat, ni velox ingenio mobili paenitentiae, et ingentes adversus Germaniam conatus frustra fuissent. Divus Claudius auctor operis, transvectis legionibus auxiliisque et adsumpto in partem rerum Vespasiano, quod initium venturae mox fortunae fuit. Domitae gentes, capti reges, et monstratus fatis Vespasianus.

XIV. Consularium primus Aulus Plautius praepositus ac subinde Ostorius Scapula, uterque bello egregius: redactaque paulatim in formam provinciae proxima pars Britanniae. Addita insuper veteranorum colonia. Quaedam civitates Cogidumno regi donatae (is ad nostram usque memoriam fidissimus mansit) ut, vetere ac iam pridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine,

haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges. Mox Didius Gallus parta a prioribus continuit, paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis, per quae fama aucti officii quaereretur. Didium Veranius excepit, isque intra annum exstinctus est.

Suetonius hinc Paulinus biennio prosperas res habuit, subactis nationibus firmatisque praesidiis; quorum fiducia Monam insulam ut vires rebellibus ministrantem adgressus terga occasioni patefecit. XV. Namque absentia legati remoto metu Britanni agitare inter se mala servitutis, conferre iniurias et interpretando accendere: nihil profici patientia nisi ut graviora tamquam ex facili tolerantibus imperentur. Singulos sibi olim reges fuisse, nunc binos imponi, e quibus legatus in sanguinem, procurator in bona saeviret. Aeque discordiam praepositorum, aeque concordiam subiectis exitiosam. Alterius manum centuriones, alterius servos vim et contumelias miscere. Nihil iam cupiditati, nihil libidini exceptum. In proelio fortiorem esse, qui spoliet: nunc ab ignavis plerumque et imbellibus eripi domos, abstrahi liberos, iniungi dilectus, tamquam mori tantum pro patria nescientibus. Quantulum enim transisse militum, si sese Britanni numerent? Sic Germanias excussisse iugum, et flumine, non Oceano, defendi. Sibi patriam coniuges parentes, illis avaritiam et luxuriam causas belli esse. Recessuros, ut divus Iulius recessisset, modo virtutem maiorum suorum aemularentur. Neve proelii unius aut alterius eventu pavescerent: plus impetus felicibus, maiorem constantiam penes miseros esse. Iam Britannorum etiam deos misereri, qui Romanum ducem absentem, qui relegatum in alia insula exercitum detinerent; iam ipsos, quod difficillimum

fuerit, deliberare. Porro in eiusmodi consiliis periculosius esse deprehendi quam audere.

XVI. His atque talibus invicem instincti, Boudicca generis regii femina duce (neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt) sumpsere universi bellum; ac sparsos per castella milites consectati, expugnatis praesidiis ipsam coloniam invasere ut sedem servitutis. Nec ullum in barbaris saevitiae genus omisit ira et victoria. Quod nisi Paulinus cognito provinciae motu propere subvenisset, amissa Britannia foret; quam unius proelii fortuna veteri patientiae restituit, tenentibus arma plerisque, quos conscientia defectionis et proprius ex legato timor agitabat, ne, quamquam egregius cetera, adroganter in deditos et ut suae cuiusque iniuriae ultor durius consuleret.

Missus igitur Petronius Turpilianus tamquam exorabilior; et delictis hostium novus eoque paenitentiae mitior, compositis prioribus nihil ultra ausus Trebellio Maximo provinciam tradidit. Trebellius segnior et nullis castrorum experimentis comitate quadam curandi provinciam tenuit. Didicere iam barbari quoque ignoscere vitiis blandientibus, et interventus civilium armorum praebuit iustam segnitiae excusationem. Sed discordia laboratum, cum adsuetus expeditionibus miles otio lasciviret. Trebellius, fuga ac latebris vitata exercitus ira indecorus atque humilis, precario mox praefuit, ac velut pacti exercitus licentiam, dux salutem *esset* seditio sine sanguine stetit. Nec Vettius Bolanus, manentibus adhuc civilibus bellis, agitavit Britanniam disciplina: eadem inertia erga hostis, similis petulantia castrorum, nisi quod innocens Bolanus et nullis delictis invisus caritatem paraverat loco auctoritatis.

XVII. Sed ubi cum cetero orbe Vespasianus et Britanniam recuperavit, magni duces, egregii exercitus, minuta hostium spes. Et terrorem statim intulit Petilius Cerialis, Brigantum civitatem, quae numerosissima provinciae totius perhibetur, adgressus. Multa proelia, et aliquando non incruenta; magnamque Brigantum partem aut victoria amplexus est aut bello. Et Cerialis quidem alterius successoris curam famamque obruisset: subiit sustinuitque molem Iulius Frontinus, vir magnus, quantum licebat, validamque et pugnacem Silurum gentem armis subegit, super virtutem hostium locorum quoque difficultates eluctatus.

XVIII. Hunc Britanniae statum, has bellorum vices media iam aestate transgressus Agricola invenit, cum et milites velut omissa expeditione ad securitatem et hostes ad occasionem verterentur. Ordovicum civitas haud multo ante adventum eius alam in finibus suis agentem prope universam obtriverat, eoque initio erecta provincia. Et quibus bellum volentibus erat, probare exemplum ac recentis legati animum opperiri, cum Agricola, quamquam transvecta aestas, sparsi per provinciam numeri, praesumpta apud militem illius anni quies, tarda et contraria bellum incohaturo, et plerisque custodiri suspecta potius videbatur, ire obviam discrimini statuit; contractisque legionum vexillis et modica auxiliorum manu, quia in aequum degredi Ordovices non audebant, ipse ante agmen, quo ceteris par animus simili periculo esset, erexit aciem. Caesaque prope universa gente, non ignarus instandum famae ac, prout prima cessissent, terrorem ceteris fore, Monam insulam, cuius possessione revocatum Paulinum rebellione totius Britanniae supra memoravi, redigere in potestatem

animo intendit. Sed ut in subitis consiliis naves deerant: ratio et constantia ducis transvexit. Depositis omnibus sarcinis lectissimos auxiliarium, quibus nota vada et patrius nandi usus, quo simul seque et arma et equos regunt, ita repente immisit, ut obstupefacti hostes, qui classem, qui navis, qui mare exspectabant, nihil arduum aut invictum crediderint sic ad bellum venientibus. Ita petita pace ac dedita insula clarus ac magnus haberi Agricola, quippe cui ingredienti provinciam, quod tempus alii per ostentationem et officiorum ambitum transigunt, labor et periculum placuisset. Nec Agricola, prosperitate rerum in vanitatem usus, expeditionem aut victoriam vocabat victos continuisse; ne laureatis quidem gesta prosecutus est. Sed ipsa dissimulatione famae famam auxit, aestimantibus quanta futuri spe tam magna tacuisset.

XIX. Ceterum animorum provinciae prudens, simulque doctus per aliena experimenta parum profici armis si iniuriae sequerentur, causas bellorum statuit excidere. A se suisque orsus primum domum suam coercuit, quod plerisque haud minus arduum est quam provinciam regere. Nihil per libertos servosque publicae rei, non studiis privatis nec ex commendatione aut precibus centurionem militesve ascire, sed optimum quemque fidissimum putare. Omnia scire, non omnia exsequi. Parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commodare; nec poena semper sed saepius paenitentia contentus esse; officiis et administrationibus potius non peccaturos praeponere, quam damnare cum peccassent. Frumenti et tributorum exactionem aequalitate munerum mollire, circumcisis quae in quaestum reperta ipso tributo gravius tolerabantur. Namque

per ludibrium adsidere clausis horreis et emere ultro frumenta ac luere pretio cogebantur. Devortia itinerum et longinquitas regionum indicebatur, ut civitates proximis hibernis in remota et avia deferrent, donec quod omnibus in promptu erat paucis lucrosum fieret. XX. Haec primo statim anno comprimendo egregiam famam paci circumdedit, quae vel incuria vel intolerantia priorum haud minus quam bellum timebatur.

Sed, ubi aestas advenit, contracto exercitu multus in agmine, laudare modestiam, disiectos coercere, loca castris ipse capere, aestuaria ac silvas ipse praetemptare; et nihil interim apud hostes quietum pati, quo minus subitis excursibus popularetur; atque ubi satis terruerat, parcendo rursus incitamenta pacis ostentare. Quibus rebus multae civitates, quae in illum diem ex aequo egerant, datis obsidibus iram posuere, et praesidiis castellisque circumdatae, tanta ratione curaque ut nulla ante Britanniae nova pars. XXI. Inlacessita transiit sequens hiems, saluberrimis consiliis absumpta. Namque, ut homines dispersi ac rudes eoque in bella faciles quieti et otio per voluptates adsuescerent, hortari privatim, adiuvare publice, ut templa fora domos exstruerent, laudando promptos et castigando segnes. Ita honoris aemulatio pro necessitate erat. Iam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut, qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. Inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga, paulatimque discessum ad delenimenta vitiorum, porticus et balinea et conviviorum elegantiam. Idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.

XXII. Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentis aperuit, vastatis usque ad Tanaum (aestuario nomen est) nationibus. Qua formidine territi hostes quamquam conflictatum saevis tempestatibus exercitum lacessere non ausi; ponendisque insuper castellis spatium fuit. Adnotabant periti non alium ducem opportunitates locorum sapientius legisse. Nullum ab Agricola positum castellum aut vi hostium expugnatum aut pactione ac fuga desertum; crebrae eruptiones, nam adversus moras obsidionis annuis copiis firmabantur. Ita intrepida ibi hiems et sibi quisque praesidio, inritis hostibus eoque desperantibus, quia soliti plerumque damna aestatis hibernis eventibus pensare, tum aestate atque hieme iuxta pellebantur. Nec Agricola umquam per alios gesta avidus intercepit: seu centurio seu praefectus incorruptum facti testem habebat. Apud quosdam acerbior in conviciis narrabatur: ut erat comis bonis, ita adversus malos iniucundus. Ceterum ex iracundia nihil supererat secretum, ut silentium eius non timeres: honestius putabat offendere quam odisse.

XXIII. Quarta aestas obtinendis quae percucurrerat insumpta; ac, si virtus exercituum et Romani nominis gloria pateretur, inventus in ipsa Britannia terminus. Namque Clota et Bodotria diversi maris aestibus per immensum revectae, angusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur: quod tum praesidiis firmabatur atque omnis propior sinus tenebatur, summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus.

XXIV. Quinto expeditionum anno nave prima transgressus ignotas ad id tempus gentis crebris simul ac prosperis proeliis domuit, eamque partem Britanniae quae Hiberniam aspicit copiis instruxit, in spem magis

quam ob formidinem, si quidem Hibernia medio inter Britanniam atque Hispaniam sita et Gallico quoque mari opportuna valentissimam imperii partem magnis invicem usibus miscuerit. Spatium eius, si Britanniae comparetur, angustius, nostri maris insulas superat. Solum caelumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a Britannia differt [in melius]. Aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti. Agricola expulsum seditione domestica unum ex regulis gentis exceperat ac specie amicitiae in occasionem retinebat. Saepe ex eo audivi legione una et modicis auxiliis debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse; idque etiam adversus Britanniam profuturum, si Romana ubique arma et velut e conspectu libertas tolleretur.

XXV. Ceterum aestate, qua sextum officii annum incohabat, amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas, quia motus universarum ultra gentium et infesta hostilis exercitus itinera timebantur, portus classe exploravit. Quae ab Agricola primum adsumpta in partem virium sequebatur egregia specie, cum simul terra simul mari bellum impelleretur, ac saepe isdem castris pedes equesque et nauticus miles mixti copiis et laetitia sua quisque facta suos casus attollerent, ac modo silvarum ac montium profunda, modo tempestatum ac fluctuum adversa, hinc terra et hostis, hinc victus Oceanus militari iactantia compararentur. Britannos quoque, ut ex captivis audiebatur, visa classis obstupefaciebat, tamquam aperto maris sui secreto ultimum victis perfugium clauderetur.

Ad manus et arma conversi Caledoniam incolentes populi, paratu magno, maiore fama, uti mos est de ignotis, oppugnare ultro castella adorti, metum ut

provocantes addiderant; regrediendumque citra Bodotriam et excedendum potius quam pellerentur ignavi specie prudentium admonebant, cum interim cognoscit hostis pluribus agminibus inrupturos. Ac ne superante numero et peritia locorum circumiretur, diviso et ipse in tris partes exercitu incessit. XXVI. Quod ubi cognitum hosti, mutato repente consilio universi nonam legionem ut maxime invalidam nocte adgressi, inter somnum ac trepidationem caesis vigilibus inrupere. Iamque in ipsis castris pugnabatur, cum Agricola iter hostium ab exploratoribus edoctus et vestigiis insecutus, velocissimos equitum peditumque adsultare tergis pugnantium iubet, mox ab universis adici clamorem; et propinqua luce fulsere signa. Ita ancipiti malo territi Britanni; et Romanis rediit animus, ac securi pro salute de gloria certabant. Ultro quin etiam erupere, et fuit atrox in ipsis portarum angustiis proelium, donec pulsi hostes, utroque exercitu certante, his, ut tulisse opem, illis, ne eguisse auxilio viderentur. Quod nisi paludes et silvae fugientes texissent, debellatum illa victoria foret. XXVII. Cuius conscientia ac fama ferox exercitus nihil virtuti suae invium et penetrandam Caledoniam inveniendumque tandem Britanniae terminum continuo proeliorum cursu fremebant. Atque illi modo cauti ac sapientes prompti post eventum ac magniloqui erant. Iniquissima haec bellorum condicio est: prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni imputantur. At Britanni non virtute se victos, sed occasione et arte ducis rati, nihil ex adrogantia remittere, quo minus iuventutem armarent, coniuges ac liberos in loca tuta transferrent, coetibus ac sacrificiis conspirationem civitatum sancirent. Atque ita inritatis utrimque animis discessum.

XXVIII. Eadem aestate cohors Usiporum per Germanias conscripta et in Britanniam transmissa magnum ac memorabile facinus ausa est. Occiso centurione ac militibus qui ad tradendam disciplinam immixti manipulis exemplum et rectores habebantur, tris liburnicas adactis per vim gubernatoribus ascendere; et uno remigante, suspectis duobus eoque interfectis, nondum vulgato rumore ut miraculum praevehebantur. Mox ad aquandum atque utilia raptum egressi et cum plerisque Britannorum sua defensantium proelio congressi, ac saepe victores, aliquando pulsi, eo ad extremum inopiae venere, ut infirmissimos suorum, mox sorte ductos vescerentur. Atque ita circumvecti Britanniam, amissis per inscitiam regendi navibus, pro praedonibus habiti, primum a Suebis, mox a Frisiis intercepti sunt. Ac fuere quos per commercia venumdatos et in nostram usque ripam mutatione ementium adductos indicium tanti casus inlustravit.

XXIX. Initio aestatis Agricola domestico vulnere ictus, anno ante natum filium amisit. Quem casum neque ut plerique fortium virorum ambitiose, neque per lamenta rursus ac maerorem muliebriter tulit: et in luctu bellum inter remedia erat. Igitur praemissa classe quae pluribus locis praedata magnum et incertum terrorem faceret, expedito exercitu, cui ex Britannis fortissimos et longa pace exploratos addiderat, ad montem Graupium pervenit, quem iam hostis insederat. Nam Britanni nihil fracti pugnae prioris eventu et ultionem aut servitium exspectantes, tandemque docti commune periculum concordia propulsandum, legationibus et foederibus omnium civitatum vires exciverant. Iamque super triginta milia armatorum aspiciebantur,

et adhuc adfluebat omnis iuventus et quibus cruda ac viridis senectus, clari bello et sua quisque decora gestantes, cum inter plures duces virtute et genere praestans nomine Calgacus apud contractam multitudinem proelium poscentem in hunc modum locutus fertur:

XXX. Quotiens causas belli et necessitatem nostram intueor, magnus mihi animus est hodiernum diem consensumque vestrum initium libertatis toti Britanniae fore. Nam et universi servitutis expertes et nullae ultra terrae ac ne mare quidem securum, imminente nobis classe Romana. Ita proelium atque arma, quae fortibus honesta, eadem etiam ignavis tutissima sunt. Priores pugnae, quibus adversus Romanos varia fortuna certatum est, spem ac subsidium in nostris manibus habebant, quia nobilissimi totius Britanniae, eoque in ipsis penetralibus siti nec ulla servientium litora aspicientes, oculos quoque a contactu dominationis inviolatos habebamus. Nos terrarum ac libertatis extremos recessus ipse ac sinus famae in hunc diem defendit: nunc terminus Britanniae patet. Atque omne ignotum pro magnifico est. Sed nulla iam ultra gens, nihil nisi fluctus et saxa, et infestiores Romani, quorum superbiam frustra per obsequium et modestiam effugeris. Raptores orbis, postquam cuncta vastantibus defuere terrae, iam et mare scrutantur: si locuples hostis est, avari, si pauper, ambitiosi; quos non Oriens, non Occidens satiaverit. Soli omnium opes atque inopiam pari adfectu concupiscunt. Auferre trucidare rapere falsis nominibus imperium, atque, ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant. XXXI. Liberos cuique ac propinquos suos natura carissimos esse voluit: hi per dilectus alibi servituri auferuntur: coniuges sororesque etiam si hostilem

libidinem effugiant, nomine amicorum atque hospitum polluuntur. Bona fortunaeque in tributum, ager atque annus in frumentum, corpora ipsa ac manus silvis ac paludibus emuniendis inter verbera ac contumelias conteruntur. Nata servituti mancipia semel veneunt, atque ultro a dominis aluntur: Britannia servitutem suam cotidie emit, cotidie pascit. Ac sicut in familia recentissimus quisque servorum etiam conservis ludibrio est, sic in hoc orbis terrarum vetere famulatu novi nos et viles in excidium petimur. Neque enim arva nobis aut metalla aut portus sunt, quibus exercendis reservemur. Virtus porro ac ferocia subiectorum ingrata imperantibus; et longinquitas ac secretum ipsum quo tutius, eo suspectius. Ita sublata spe veniae tandem sumite animum, tam quibus salus quam quibus gloria carissima est. Brigantes femina duce exurere coloniam, expugnare castra, ac nisi felicitas in socordiam vertisset, exuere iugum potuere: nos integri et indomiti et in libertatem, non in paenitentiam, arma laturi, primo statim congressu ostendamus quos sibi Caledonia viros seposuerit.

XXXII. An eandem Romanis in bello virtutem quam in pace lasciviam adesse creditis? Nostris illi dissensionibus ac discordiis clari vitia hostium in gloriam exercitus sui vertunt; quem contractum ex diversissimis gentibus, ut secundae res tenent, ita adversae dissolvent — nisi si Gallos et Germanos et (pudet dictu) Britannorum plerosque, licet dominationi alienae sanguinem commodent, diutius tamen hostes quam servos, fide et adfectu teneri putatis. Metus ac terror est, infirma vincla caritatis; quae ubi removeris, qui timere desierint, odisse incipient. Omnia victoriae incitamenta

pro nobis sunt: nullae Romanos coniuges accendunt, nulli parentes fugam exprobraturi sunt; aut nulla plerisque patria aut alia est. Paucos numero, trepidos ignorantia, caelum ipsum ac mare et silvas, ignota omnia circumspectantes, clausos quodammodo ac vinctos di nobis tradiderunt. Ne terreat vanus aspectus et auri fulgor atque argenti, quod neque tegit neque vulnerat. In ipsa hostium acie inveniemus nostras manus. Adgnoscent Britanni suam causam, recordabuntur Galli priorem libertatem, deserent illos ceteri Germani, tamquam nuper Usipi reliquerunt. Nec quicquam ultra formidinis: vacua castella, senum coloniae, inter male parentes et iniuste imperantes aegra municipia et discordantia. Hic dux, hic exercitus: ibi tributa et metalla et ceterae servientium poenae, quas in aeternum perferre aut statim ulcisci in hoc campo est. Proinde ituri in aciem et maiores vestros et posteros cogitate.

XXXIII. Excepere orationem alacres, ut barbaris moris, cantu fremituque et clamoribus dissonis. Iamque agmina et armorum fulgores audentissimi cuiusque procursu: simul instruebatur acies, cum Agricola, quamquam laetum et vix munimentis coercitum militem accendendum adhuc ratus, ita disseruit:

Septimus annus est, commilitones, ex quo virtute et auspiciis imperii Romani, fide atque opera nostra Britanniam vicistis. Tot expeditionibus, tot proeliis, seu fortitudine adversus hostes seu patientia ac labore paene adversus ipsam rerum naturam opus fuit, neque me militum neque vos ducis paenituit. Ergo egressi, ego veterum legatorum, vos priorum exercituum terminos, finem Britanniae non fama nec rumore, sed castris et armis tenemus. Inventa Britannia et subacta.

Equidem saepe in agmine, cum vos paludes montesve et flumina fatigarent, fortissimi cuiusque voces audiebam: quando dabitur hostis, quando acies? Veniunt, e latebris suis extrusi; et vota virtusque in aperto, omniaque prona victoribus, atque eadem victis adversa. Nam, ut superasse tantum itineris, silvas evasisse, transisse aestuaria pulchrum ac decorum in frontem, ita fugientibus periculosissima, quae hodie prosperrima sunt. Neque enim nobis aut locorum eadem notitia aut commeatuum eadem abundantia, sed manus et arma et in his omnia. Quod ad me attinet, iam pridem mihi decretum est neque exercitus neque ducis terga tuta esse. Proinde et honesta mors turpi vita potior, et incolumitas ac decus eodem loco sita sunt; nec inglorium fuerit in ipso terrarum ac naturae fine cecidisse.

XXXIV. Si novae gentes atque ignota acies constitisset, aliorum exercituum exemplis vos hortarer: nunc vestra decora recensete, vestros oculos interrogate. Hi sunt quos proximo anno unam legionem furto noctis adgressos clamore debellastis; hi ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi ideoque tam diu superstites. Quomodo silvas saltusque penetrantibus fortissimum quodque animal contra ruere, pavida et inertia ipso agminis sono pellebantur, sic acerrimi Britannorum iam pridem ceciderunt, reliquus est numerus ignavorum et metuentium. Quos quod tandem invenistis, non restiterunt, sed deprehensi sunt; novissimae res et extremo metu torpor defixere aciem in his vestigiis, in quibus pulchram et spectabilem victoriam ederetis. Transigite cum expeditionibus, imponite quinquaginta annis magnum diem, adprobate reipublicae numquam exercitui imputari potuisse aut moras belli aut causas rebellandi.

XXXV. Et adloquente adhuc Agricola militum ardor eminebat, et finem orationis ingens alacritas consecuta est statimque ad arma discursum. Instinctos ruentesque ita disposuit, ut peditum auxilia, quae octo milium erant, mediam aciem firmarent, equitum tria milia cornibus adfunderentur. Legiones pro vallo stetere, ingens victoriae decus citra Romanum sanguinem bellandi, et auxilium, si pellerentur. Britannorum acies in speciem simul ac terrorem editioribus locis constiterat ita, ut primum agmen in aequo, ceteri per acclive iugum conexi velut insurgerent; media campi covinnarius *et* eques strepitu ac discursu complebat. Tum Agricola superante hostium multitudine veritus, ne in frontem simul et latera suorum pugnaretur, diductis ordinibus, quamquam porrectior acies futura erat et arcessendas plerique legiones admonebant, promptior in spem et firmus adversis, dimisso equo pedes ante vexilla constitit.

XXXVI. Ac primo congressu eminus certabatur; simulque constantia, simul arte Britanni ingentibus gladiis et brevibus caetris missilia nostrorum vitare vel excutere atque ipsi magnam vim telorum superfundere, donec Agricola quattuor Batavorum cohortes ac Tungrorum duas cohortatus est, ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent; quod et ipsis vetustate militiae exercitatum et hostibus inhabile parva scuta et enormes gladios gerentibus. Nam Britannorum gladii sine mucrone complexum armorum et in arto pugnam non tolerabant. Igitur, ut Batavi miscere ictus, ferire umbonibus, ora foedare, et stratis qui in aequo adstiterant, erigere in colles aciem coepere, ceterae cohortes aemulatione et impetu conisae proximos quosque caedere: ac plerique

semineces aut integri festinatione victoriae relinquebantur. Interim equitum turmae fugere; covinnarii peditum se proelio miscuere, et quamquam recentem terrorem intulerant, densis tamen hostium agminibus et inaequalibus locis haerebant; minimeque equestris ea iam pugnae facies erat, cum aegre clivo adstantes simul equorum corporibus impellerentur; ac saepe vagi currus, exterriti sine rectoribus equi, ut quemque formido tulerat, transversos aut obvios incursabant.

XXXVII. Et Britanni, qui adhuc pugnae expertes summa collium insederant et paucitatem nostrorum vacui spernebant, degredi paulatim et circumire terga vincentium coeperant, ni id ipsum veritus Agricola, quattuor equitum alas, ad subita belli retentas, venientibus opposuisset, quantoque ferocius accucurrerant, tanto acrius pulsos in fugam disiecisset. Ita consilium Britannorum in ipsos versum, transvectaeque praecepto ducis a fronte pugnantium alae aversam hostium aciem invasere. Tum vero patentibus locis grande et atrox spectaculum: sequi, vulnerare, capere, atque eosdem oblatis aliis trucidare. Iam hostium, prout cuique ingenium erat, catervae armatorum paucioribus terga praestare, quidam inermes ultro ruere ac se morti offerre. Passim arma et corpora et laceri artus et cruenta humus; et aliquando etiam victis ira virtusque. Postquam silvis adpropinquaverunt, idem primos sequentium incautos collecti et locorum gnari circumveniebant. Quod ni frequens ubique Agricola validas et expeditas cohortes indaginis modo, et sicubi arta erant, partem equitum dimissis equis, simul rariores silvas equitem persultare iussisset, acceptum aliquod vulnus per nimiam fiduciam foret. Ceterum ubi com-

positos firmis ordinibus sequi rursus videre, in fugam versi, non agminibus, ut prius, nec alius alium respectantes, rari et vitabundi invicem longinqua atque avia petiere. Finis sequendi nox et satietas fuit. Caesa hostium ad decem milia: nostrorum trecenti sexaginta cecidere, in quis Aulus Atticus, praefectus cohortis, iuvenili ardore et ferocia equi hostibus inlatus.

XXXVIII. Et nox quidem gaudio praedaque laeta victoribus. Britanni palantes mixtoque virorum mulierumque ploratu trahere vulneratos, vocare integros, deserere domos ac per iram ultro incendere, eligere latebras et statim relinquere; miscere invicem consilia [aliqua], dein separare; aliquando frangi aspectu pignorum suorum, saepius concitari. Satisque constabat saevisse quosdam in coniuges ac liberos, tamquam miserentur. Proximus dies faciem victoriae latius aperuit: vastum ubique silentium, secreti colles, fumantia procul tecta, nemo exploratoribus obvius. Quibus in omnem partem dimissis, ubi incerta fugae vestigia neque usquam conglobari hostes compertum, et exacta iam aestate spargi bellum nequibat, in fines Borestorum exercitum deducit. Ibi acceptis obsidibus, praefecto classis circumvehi Britanniam praecipit. Datae ad id vires, et praecesserat terror. Ipse peditem atque equites lento itinere, quo novarum gentium animi ipsa transitus mora terrerentur, in hibernis locavit. Et simul classis secunda tempestate ac fama Trucculensem portum tenuit, unde proximo Britanniae latere lecto omni, redierat.

XXXIX. Hunc rerum cursum, quamquam nulla verborum iactantia epistulis Agricolae auctum, ut Domitiano moris erat, fronte laetus, pectore anxius excepit. Inerat

conscientia derisui fuisse nuper falsum e Germania triumphum, emptis per commercia, quorum habitus et crines in captivorum speciem formarentur: at nunc veram magnamque victoriam tot milibus hostium caesis ingenti fama celebrari. Id sibi maxime formidolosum, privati hominis nomen supra principis attolli: frustra studia fori et civilium artium decus in silentium acta, si militarem gloriam alius occuparet; cetera utcumque facilius dissimulari, ducis boni imperatoriam virtutem esse. Talibus curis exercitus, quodque saevae cogitationis indicium erat, secreto suo satiatus, optimum in praesentia statuit reponere odium, donec impetus famae et favor exercitus languesceret: nam etiam tum Agricola Britanniam obtinebat.

XL. Igitur triumphalia ornamenta et inlustris statuae honorem et quicquid pro triumpho datur, multo verborum honore cumulata, decerni in senatu iubet addique insuper opinionem, Suriam provinciam Agricolae destinari, vacuam tum morte Atilii Rufi consularis et maioribus reservatam. Credidere plerique libertum ex secretioribus ministeriis missum ad Agricolam codicillos, quibus ei Suria dabatur, tulisse cum praecepto ut, si in Britannia foret, traderentur; eumque libertum in ipso freto Oceani obvium Agricolae, ne appellato quidem eo ad Domitianum remeasse, sive verum istud, sive ex ingenio principis fictum ac compositum est. Tradiderat interim Agricola successori suo provinciam quietam tutamque. Ac ne notabilis celebritate et frequentia occurrentium introitus esset, vitato amicorum officio noctu in urbem, noctu in palatium, ita ut praeceptum erat, venit; exceptusque brevi osculo et nullo sermone turbae servientium immixtus est.

Ceterum, ut militare nomen, grave inter otiosos, aliis virtutibus temperaret, tranquillitatem atque otium penitus hausit, cultu modicus, sermone facilis, uno aut altero amicorum comitatus, adeo ut plerique quibus magnos viros per ambitionem aestimare mos est, viso aspectoque Agricola quaererent famam, pauci interpretarentur. XLI. Crebro per eos dies apud Domitianum absens accusatus, absens absolutus est. Causa periculi non crimen ullum aut querella laesi cuiusquam, sed infensus virtutibus princeps et gloria viri ac pessimum inimicorum genus, laudantes. Et ea insecuta sunt reipublicae tempora, quae sileri Agricolam non sinerent: tot exercitus in Moesia Daciaque et Germania et Pannonia temeritate aut per ignaviam ducum amissi, tot militares viri cum tot cohortibus expugnati et capti; nec iam de limite imperii et ripa, sed de hibernis legionum et possessione dubitatum. Ita cum damna damnis continuarentur atque omnis annus funeribus et cladibus insigniretur, poscebatur ore vulgi dux Agricola, comparantibus cunctis vigorem et constantiam et expertum bellis animum cum inertia et formidine ceterorum. Quibus sermonibus satis constat Domitiani quoque aures verberatas, dum optimus quisque libertorum amore et fide, pessimi malignitate et livore pronum deterioribus principem exstimulabant. Sic Agricola simul suis virtutibus, simul vitiis aliorum in ipsam gloriam praeceps agebatur.

XLII. Aderat iam annus, quo proconsulatum Africae et Asiae sortiretur, et occiso Civica nuper nec Agricolae consilium deerat nec Domitiano exemplum. Accessere quidam cogitationum principis periti, qui iturusne esset in provinciam ultro Agricolam interro-

garent. Ac primo occultius quietem et otium laudare, mox operam suam in adprobanda excusatione offerre, postremo non iam obscuri suadentes simul terrentesque pertraxere ad Domitianum. Qui paratus simulatione, in adrogantiam compositus, et audiit preces excusantis et, cum adnuisset, agi sibi gratias passus est, nec erubuit beneficii invidia. Salarium tamen proconsuli consulari solitum offerri et quibusdam a se ipso concessum Agricolae non dedit, sive offensus non petitum, sive ex conscientia, ne quod vetuerat videretur emisse. Proprium humani ingenii est odisse quem laeseris: Domitiani vero natura praeceps in iram, et quo obscurior, eo inrevocabilior, moderatione tamen prudentiaque Agricolae leniebatur, quia non contumacia neque inani iactatione libertatis famam fatumque provocabat. Sciant, quibus moris est inlicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse, obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo laudis excedere, quo plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum reipublicae usum, ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt.

XLIII. Finis vitae eius nobis luctuosus, amicis tristis, extraneis etiam ignotisque non sine cura fuit. Vulgus quoque et hic aliud agens populus et ventitavere ad domum et per fora et circulos locuti sunt; nec quisquam audita morte Agricolae aut laetatus est aut statim oblitus. Augebat miserationem constans rumor veneno interceptum: nobis nihil comperti adfirmare ausim. Ceterum per omnem valetudinem eius crebrius quam ex more principatus per nuntios visentis et libertorum primi et medicorum intimi venere, sive cura illud sive inquisitio erat. Supremo quidem die momenta ipsa deficientis per dispositos cursores nuntiata constabat, nullo

credente sic accelerari quae tristis audiret. Speciem tamen doloris animi vultu prae se tulit, securus iam odii et qui facilius dissimularet gaudium quam metum. Satis constabat lecto testamento Agricolae, quo coheredem optimae uxori et piissimae filiae Domitianum scripsit, laetatum eum velut honore iudicioque. Tam caeca et corrupta mens adsiduis adulationibus erat, ut nesciret a bono patre non scribi heredem nisi malum principem.

XLIV. Natus erat Agricola Gaio Caesare tertium consule Idibus Iuniis, excessit quarto et quinquagesimo anno, decimo Kalendas Septembris Conlega Priscoque consulibus. Quod si habitum quoque eius posteri noscere velint, decentior quam sublimior fuit; nihil impetus in vultu, gratia oris supererat. Bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter. Et ipse quidem, quamquam medio in spatio integrae aetatis ereptus, quantum ad gloriam, longissimum aevum peregit. Quippe et vera bona, quae in virtutibus sita sunt, impleverat, et consulari ac triumphalibus ornamentis praedito quid aliud adstruere fortuna poterat? Opibus nimiis non gaudebat, speciosae non contigerant. Filia atque uxore superstitibus potest videri etiam beatus incolumi dignitate, florente fama, salvis adfinitatibus et amicitiis futura effugisse.

Nam sicuti *non licuit* durare in hanc beatissimi saeculi lucem ac principem Traianum videre, quod augurio votisque apud nostras aures ominabatur, ita festinatae mortis grande solacium tulit evasisse postremum illud tempus, quo Domitianus non iam per intervalla ac spiramenta temporum, sed continuo et velut uno ictu rempublicam exhausit. XLV. Non vidit Agricola obses-

sam curiam et clausum armis senatum et eadem strage tot consularium caedes, tot nobilissimarum feminarum exsilia et fugas. Una adhuc victoria Carus Metius censebatur, et intra Albanam arcem sententia Messalini strepebat, et Massa Baebius etiam tum reus erat. Mox nostrae duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus, nos Maurici Rusticique visus, nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit. Nero tamen subtraxit oculos suos iussitque scelera, non spectavit: praecipua sub Domitiano miseriarum pars erat videre et aspici, cum suspiria nostra subscriberentur, cum denotandis tot hominum palloribus sufficeret saevus ille vultus et rubor, quo se contra pudorem muniebat.

Tu vero felix, Agricola, non vitae tantum claritate, sed etiam opportunitate mortis. Ut perhibent qui interfuerunt novissimis sermonibus tuis, constans et libens fatum excepisti, tamquam pro virili portione innocentiam principi donares. Sed mihi filiaeque eius, praeter acerbitatem parentis erepti, auget maestitiam, quod adsidere valetudini, fovere deficientem, satiari vultu complexuque non contigit. Excepissemus certe mandata vocesque, quas penitus animo figeremus. Noster hic dolor, nostrum vulnus, nobis tam longae absentiae condicione ante quadriennium amissus est. Omnia sine dubio, optime parentum, adsidente amantissima uxore superfuere honori tuo: paucioribus tamen lacrimis comploratus es et novissima in luce desideravere aliquid oculi tui.

XLVI. Si quis piorum manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore exstinguuntur magnae animae, placide quiescas, nosque domum tuam ab infirmo desiderio et muliebribus lamentis ad contem-

plationem virtutum tuarum voces, quas neque lugeri neque plangi fas est. Admiratione te potius quam ploratibus laudemus, et, si natura suppeditet, similitudine colamus. Is verus honos, ea coniunctissimi cuiusque pietas. Id filiae quoque uxorique praeceperim, sic patris, sic mariti memoriam venerari, ut omnia facta dictaque eius secum revolvant, formamque ac figuram animi magis quam corporis complectantur, non quia intercedendum putem imaginibus quae marmore aut aere finguntur, sed, ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra vultus imbecilla ac mortalia sunt, forma mentis aeterna, quam tenere et exprimere non per alienam materiam et artem, sed tuis ipse moribus possis. Quicquid ex Agricola amavimus, quicquid mirati sumus, manet mansurumque est in animis hominum, in aeternitate temporum, *in* fama rerum. Nam multos veterum, velut inglorios, et ignobilis, oblivio obruit: Agricola posteritati narratus et traditus superstes erit.

INTRODUCTION TO THE GERMANIA

In ch. 37 of the *Germania* Tacitus reckons the time from the first conflict of the Cimbri with the Romans down to his own day, or time of writing. This he designates as the second consulship of Trajan, that is, 98 A.D. The treatise is therefore a little later than the *Agricola*, which belongs either to the end of the preceding year, or early in the year 98, before the death of the emperor Nerva.

In the preface to the *Agricola* Tacitus had already announced his plan of writing the history of the immediate past (the reign of Domitian) and of the present, a promise which with some modification of original purpose was fulfilled in the *Histories*. But his first appearance in the rôle of historian is as the author of this geographical and ethnographical treatise. It is a preliminary experiment in the historical style, preluding the sustained achievement of historical narrative, which in the *Histories*, and afterward in the *Annals*, covered the period of nearly a century from Augustus to the death of Domitian.

The *Germania* is divided into two parts of nearly equal length, separated by the 27th chapter. The first part contains a general account of the geography and ethnography of Germany, and a general description of the institutions and manner of life of its people. The second part treats of the same matters, taking up the several tribes and nations one by one. Relative to the scantiness of our knowledge derived from other sources, the work is rich in information. It contains hints and allusions to many facts and institutions which are not expressly described, and which Tacitus under-

stood very imperfectly, but which receive their explanation from the records and development of a later time.

But the wealth and value of the treatise for us must not lead us to estimate its accuracy and comprehensiveness too highly. For it does not appear that Tacitus had made elaborate or painstaking comparison of the accounts of previous writers, nor had he investigated the land and people in person. His own words (*accepimus* in ch. 27) imply that his sources were purely literary or oral, and had he been an eyewitness to the customs and places which he describes, he would surely not have failed to appeal to this circumstance in confirmation of the truth of his descriptions.

The genius of Tacitus was literary and psychological, and in these qualities his greatness lies; but his conception of the duty and function of the historian did not rise essentially above that of his time. The ancient historian in writing of an earlier time, or of a foreign people, was in the habit of accepting from such earlier sources as he thought fit to use the record of events and the description of lands and institutions. From these he drew up his own account, not often by a process of critical comparison nor by investigation into original records. His task he conceived of as creative in a literary sense. That is, by the choice and arrangement of material and by the stylistic handling of it, he aimed to produce a narrative which should surpass earlier ones by the charm or effectiveness of its descriptions and characterizations. Greater truthfulness was sought rather by interpretation of events or motives already narrated, than by search for first-hand documents or more immediate records.

In the *Dialogue on the Decline of Oratory*—a work belonging to the early years of Trajan's reign—Tacitus puts the main argument into the mouth of the poet Maternus. He represents him as a distinguished orator and poet, who has made up his mind to abandon the career of oratory for

poetry. Whether in fact Tacitus meant this delineation to represent himself and his own purposes or not, it is nevertheless true that the transition of Tacitus from the career of oratory, which he had followed up to middle life, to the pursuit of history is closely analogous to the career of Maternus as set forth in the Dialogue. One can scarcely refrain from attaching to his portrayal of Maternus a certain autobiographical value. As Maternus in the Dialogue is abandoning oratory for poetry, so Tacitus at this period of his life has become conscious of the emptiness of an oratorical career, and has resolved to turn from it to the more lasting literary rewards of history.

History, as is well known, was conceived of as a literature of moral instruction or of entertainment, a kind of poetry in prose (*quasi carmen solutum* in Quintilian's phrase), and this yields us the essential point of view from which the *Germania* is to be considered. For us, in lieu of more immediate and authentic sources, the *Germania* is a treasure-house of observations and facts concerning the historical origins of our race; but for Tacitus it was an essay in prose poetry, a *tour de force* of poetical and rhetorical style, looking to effects which were literary and æsthetic in accordance with the taste of his time. On the side of poetry it is full of reminiscences of poetical usage, of romanticism of conception and expression, of idealization of the primitive and natural as contrasted with Roman decadence and artifice. On the side of rhetoric it abounds in sententious aphorisms, in paradoxical antitheses, in declamatory effects produced by asyndeton and anaphora. We know from the letters of Pliny, and from other contemporaries, how popular and frequent were the public and semipublic recitations of the literary products of the time, and it is doing Tacitus no dishonor, but merely interpreting him in the light of his time, to point out that the style of the *Germania* looks to declamatory recitation and the auditorium. The evidence

of this is to be seen in the whole texture of rhetorical and poetical style which has been alluded to, but most especially in the use of rhetorical artifices which have significance chiefly in oratorical or declamatory speech.

Of these the most striking is the extravagant use of anaphora, the emphatic repetition of the same word to introduce two or more utterances upon the same subject. Anaphora is an effective means of indicating a high degree of emotional intensity, and in its prevailing use it belongs to the literature of oratory and of dramatic declamation. That we should find it in the description of an alien people whose usages and customs would not naturally afford occasion for emotional participation, marks a style which either is composed expressly for declamation, or which has at least accepted the standards of taste established by the widespread habit of public recitation. Examples of this usage are found throughout the *Germania*, but ch. 18, descriptive of the marriage customs, is especially noteworthy.

In literary form as a whole the Germania may be called an historical excursus, developed into an independent geographical essay. Independent works of this sort had been produced before Tacitus' time, though no other example has come down to us. Thus Seneca had written *de situ Indiae* and *de situ et sacris Aegyptiorum*, works which we may suspect were not without influence upon Tacitus in respect of style and form. But generally speaking material of the sort presented in the *Germania* was handled by the historians in digressions of greater or less magnitude, prefaced to the narrative of the historical events of the people and country under consideration. So for example Tacitus himself gives a brief account of the Jews as a preface to the conquest of Titus (*Histories*, 5, 2), and in the *Agricola* he devotes a few chapters to Britain prefatory to the account of Agricola's administration of it. In some instances such accounts took on considerable magnitude, and might even

fill a whole book, while yet maintaining their character of digressions from a larger whole. But it would be a mistaken point of view to believe that Tacitus, with deliberate foresight and with reference to the plans and needs of his future historical writings, had composed the work. The immediate and contemporary interest in Germany was due to the presence there of the new emperor Trajan (stationed at Cologne during the year 98), and this circumstance afforded Tacitus an opportunity to appear before the literary public of Rome in the new rôle which he had chosen for himself, with a theme of present interest.

The material available to him of earlier record was abundant, from Julius Cæsar down to the twenty books of Roman wars with Germany of the Elder Pliny. As Livy is reported to have devoted the first part of the 104th book of his history to the *situs Germaniae moresque*, so it is probable that Pliny's special history contained various digressions of the geographical and ethnographical type, devoted to the Germans as a whole as well as to their several tribes. But to distinguish and determine the sources of Tacitus' information is now quite impossible. We can however see that in the stylistic treatment of his theme and in the points of view which he follows in its selection and arrangement Tacitus is no pioneer, but consciously or unconsciously is constrained by the traditions established for this type of writing by predecessors. This fact might be illustrated with considerable fullness by comparison of a large variety of writings on similar subjects, both Greek and Latin, but the general character of such illustration may here be indicated briefly by comparison with the geographical excursus of the historian Trogus.

Pompeius Trogus was a younger contemporary of Livy, and in the later years of Augustus composed a history of the world in 44 books, arranging his matter chronologically from the beginnings of human culture, and distributing it geographically by the countries which at different times had

played the important rôles in historical development. This arrangement afforded him opportunity for frequent digressions devoted to the geography and characteristics of the different peoples. The work of Trogus has not come down to us in its original form, but it was epitomized by Justinus apparently in the second century A.D. Of the large number of ethnographical excursus which the original work contained, only a small number were carried over into the epitome, and these doubtless much curtailed. But even so they contain the closest parallels to the *Germania* in choice of matter, points of view, and style that we possess. The resemblances in style are particularly noteworthy and disclose the fact that the literary traditions of this type of composition were already well defined long before Tacitus. In Trogus we detect the same loose enumeration of traits, the same avoidance of connectives, the same fondness for the verbless sentence. But in him no more than in Tacitus is this artlessness; it is on the contrary a highly developed rhetorical manner, which in its Latin origins goes back to Sallust. In point of view we find the same idealization of the primitive and uncorrupted, and side by side with it abhorrence of savagery and barbarous practices, both of which afford opportunity for sententious and paradoxical aphorisms. The brief ch. 2, 2, on the Scythians, affords a good example of the style, and another will be found in the description of the Parthians (41, 2 and 3). Both of these have some points of contact with the subject matter of the *Germania*, but they are especially noteworthy for what we should be prone to call the "Tacitean" color of their style.

Comparisons and considerations of this sort make it clear that the *Germania* is far from representing a developed stage of Tacitus' style. It still reveals the hand of the apprentice in the historical manner, not only in a certain dependence, but also in some extravagances of rhetorical and poetical usage. In relation to the mastery and individuality which

the *Histories* and especially the *Annals* show, the *Germania* betrays the *vox incondita ac rudis* for which Tacitus bespeaks indulgence in the preface to the *Agricola*.

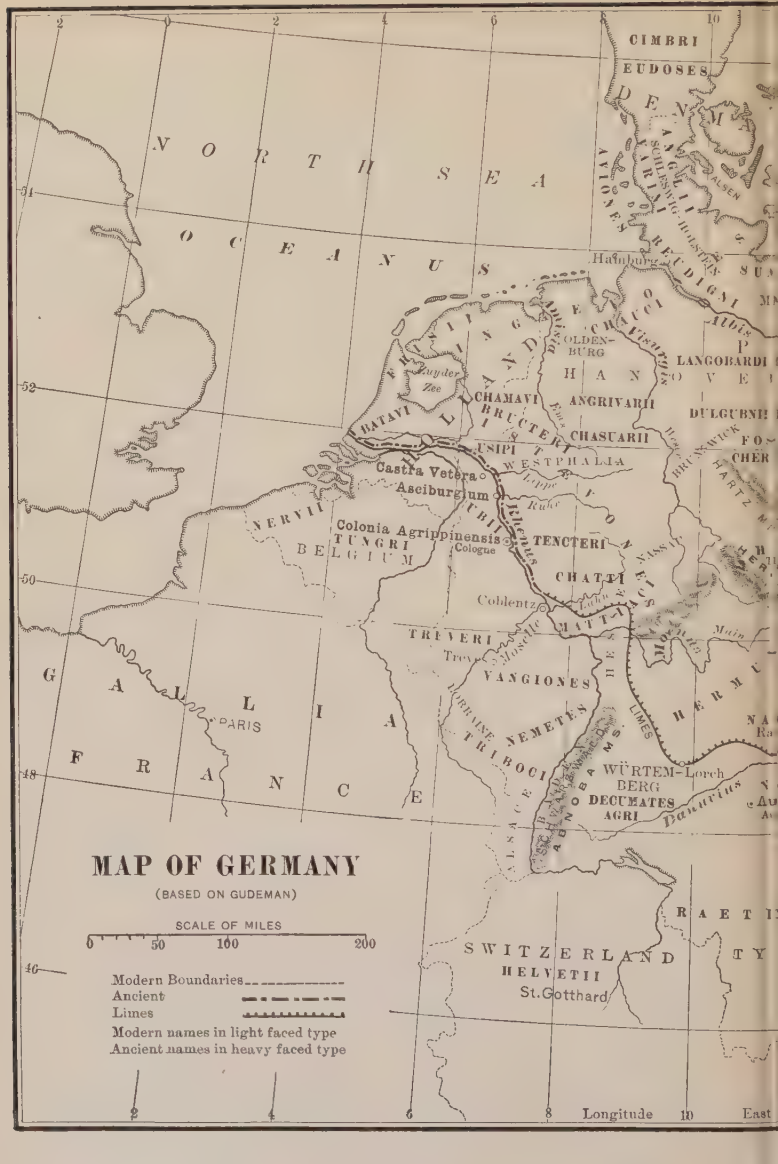
Concerning the purpose of the *Germania*, it has been said above that the presence of the new emperor in Germany would naturally lend a present interest at Rome to the country and its people. But in satisfying this interest Tacitus does not seem to have entertained any larger motive of explaining the political or military relations of Germany with Rome. He is content to limit himself to the geographical and ethnographical material which he found in his sources. In fact Tacitus appears singularly without political or military interest, and only once (ch. 37) does he use words which show any consciousness of the very problems which Trajan must have been considering, and was endeavoring to settle.

An ethical motive has been discerned in the frequent contrasts which Tacitus draws between the natural virtues of Germany and the civilized decadence of Rome. To a certain extent this observation is true, but it cannot be raised to the rank of a main purpose, nor does it necessarily represent any deeply felt emotion of Tacitus. Such contrasts of the vices or defects of civilization with the natural virtues, either of primitive man as imagined, or of peoples living in the present in a state of primitive culture, are characteristic of the ethnographical writing of antiquity in general. They are well illustrated by the familiar ode of Horace (3, 24),

> Campestres melius Scythae
> . . . . .
> Vivunt et rigidi Getae,

and they seem to have played a rôle of special prominence in the historical-ethnographical writings of Posidonius, the Stoic contemporary of Cicero. For him they afforded an objective illustration of the Stoic dogma — *naturae convenienter vivere*. Tacitus elsewhere adopts the Stoic view of

the original innocence of the human race and he doubtless handed on with sympathy the picture of the Germans as a race untouched by decay. He was by nature a satirist, and he used therefore the materials and contrasts which he found, and even heightened them with the resources of his own pungent pen. But the point of view is characteristic of the literary type to which the *Germania* belongs, and is not peculiar to Tacitus.



MAP OF GERMANY

(BASED ON GUDEMAN)

SCALE OF MILES

0 50 100 200

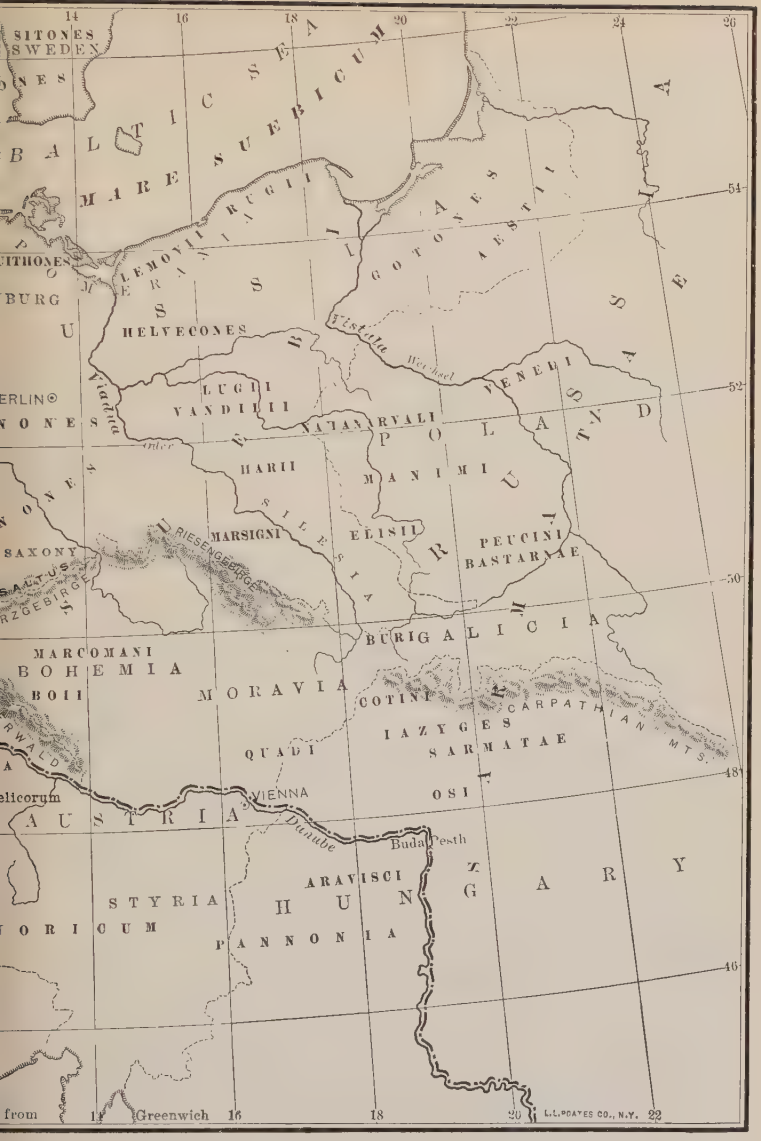
Modern Boundaries

Ancient

Limes

Modern names in light faced type

Ancient names in heavy faced type


SITONES
SWEDEN
MARE SUEBICUM
BALTIC SEA
SUEBI
RUGII
GOTONES
AESTII
SARMATIA
HELVECONES
LUGII
VANDILII
HARII
MANIMI
MARSIGNI
ELISII
PEUCINI
BASTARNAE
BURIGALICIA
POLAND
MARCOMANI
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
COTINI
CARPATHIAN MTS.
IAZYGES
SARMATAE
QUADI
VIENNA
OSI
AUSTRIA
Danube
Buda Pesth
ARAVISCI
HUNGARY
STYRIA
PANNONIA
Vistula
Weichsel
Viadua
Oder
RIESENGEBIRGE
SAXONY
BERLIN
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CORNELII TACITI

DE ORIGINE ET SITU GERMANORUM

I. GERMANIA omnis a Gallis Raetisque et Pannoniis Rheno et Danuvio fluminibus, a Sarmatis Dacisque mutuo metu aut montibus separatur. Cetera Oceanus ambit, latos sinus et insularum immensa spatia complectens, nuper cognitis quibusdam gentibus ac regibus, quos bellum aperuit. Rhenus, Raeticarum Alpium inaccesso ac praecipiti vertice ortus, modico flexu in occidentem versus septentrionali Oceano miscetur. Danuvius, molli et clementer edito montis Abnobae iugo effusus, pluris populos adit, donec in Ponticum mare sex meatibus erumpat: septimum os paludibus hauritur.

II. Ipsos Germanos indigenas crediderim minimeque aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitiis mixtos, quia nec terra olim sed classibus advehebantur qui mutare sedes quaerebant, et immensus ultra utque sic dixerim adversus Oceanus raris ab orbe nostro navibus aditur. Quis porro, praeter periculum horridi et ignoti maris, Asia aut Africa aut Italia relicta, Germaniam peteret, informem terris, asperam caelo, tristem cultu aspectuque, nisi si patria sit?

Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoriae et annalium genus est, Tuistonem deum terra editum et filium Mannum originem gentis conditoresque. Manno tris filios adsignant, e quorum nominibus

proximi Oceano Ingaevones, medii Herminones, ceteri Istaevones vocentur. Quidam, ut in licentia vetustatis, pluris deo ortos plurisque gentis appellationes, Marsos, Gambrivios, Suebos, Vandilios adfirmant, eaque vera et antiqua nomina. Ceterum Germaniae vocabulum recens et nuper additum, quoniam qui primi Rhenum transgressi Gallos expulerint, ac nunc Tungri, tunc Germani vocati sint. Ita nationis nomen, non gentis evaluisse paulatim, ut omnes primum a victore ob metum, mox etiam a se ipsis, invento nomine Germani vocarentur. III. Fuisse apud eos et Herculem memorant, primumque omnium virorum fortium ituri in proelia canunt. Sunt illis haec quoque carmina, quorum relatu, quem barditum vocant, accendunt animos futuraeque pugnae fortunam ipso cantu augurantur. Terrent enim trepidantve, prout sonuit acies, nec tam vocis ille quam virtutis concentus videtur. Adfectatur praecipue asperitas soni et fractum murmur, obiectis ad os scutis, quo plenior et gravior vox repercussu intumescat. Ceterum et Ulixen quidam opinantur longo illo et fabuloso errore in hunc Oceanum delatum adisse Germaniae terras, Asciburgiumque, quod in ripa Rheni situm hodieque incolitur, ab illo constitutum nominatumque; aram quin etiam Ulixi consecratam, adiecto Laertae patris nomine, eodem loco olim repertam, monumentaque et tumulos quosdam Graecis litteris inscriptos in confinio Germaniae Raetiaeque adhuc exstare. Quae neque confirmare argumentis neque refellere in animo est: ex ingenio suo quisque demat vel addat fidem.

IV. Ipse eorum opinionibus accedo, qui Germaniae populos nullis aliis aliarum nationum conubiis infectos

propriam et sinceram et tantum sui similem gentem exstitisse arbitrantur. Unde habitus quoque corporum, quamquam in tanto hominum numero, idem omnibus: truces et caerulei oculi, rutilae comae, magna corpora et tantum ad impetum valida: laboris atque operum non eadem patientia, minimeque sitim aestumque tolerare, frigora atque inediam caelo solove adsueverunt.

v. Terra etsi aliquanto specie differt, in universum tamen aut silvis horrida aut paludibus foeda, umidior qua Gallias, ventosior qua Noricum ac Pannoniam aspicit; satis ferax, frugiferarum arborum impatiens, pecorum fecunda, sed plerumque improcera. Ne armentis quidem suus honor aut gloria frontis; numero gaudent, eaeque solae et gratissimae opes sunt. Argentum et aurum propitiine an irati di negaverint dubito. Nec tamen adfirmaverim nullam Germaniae venam argentum aurumve gignere: quis enim scrutatus est? Possessione et usu haud perinde adficiuntur. Est videre apud illos argentea vasa, legatis et principibus eorum muneri data, non in alia vilitate quam quae humo finguntur; quamquam proximi, ob usum commerciorum, aurum et argentum in pretio habent formasque quasdam nostrae pecuniae adgnoscunt atque eligunt. Interiores simplicius et antiquius permutatione mercium utuntur. Pecuniam probant veterem et diu notam, serratos bigatosque. Argentum quoque magis quam aurum sequuntur, nulla adfectione animi, sed quia numerus argenteorum facilior usui est promiscua ac vilia mercantibus.

vi. Ne ferrum quidem superest, sicut ex genere telorum colligitur. Rari gladiis aut maioribus lanceis utuntur. Hastas vel ipsorum vocabulo frameas gerunt angusto et brevi ferro, sed ita acri et ad usum habili, ut

eodem telo, prout ratio poscit, vel cominus vel eminus pugnent. Et eques quidem scuto frameaque contentus est; pedites et missilia spargunt, pluraque singuli, atque in immensum vibrant, nudi aut sagulo leves. Nulla cultus iactatio; scuta tantum lectissimis coloribus distinguunt. Paucis loricae, vix uni alterive cassis aut galea. Equi non forma, non velocitate conspicui. Sed nec variare gyros in morem nostrum docentur: in rectum aut uno flexu dextros agunt, ita coniuncto orbe ut nemo posterior sit. In universum aestimanti plus penes peditem roboris; eoque mixti proeliantur, apta et congruente ad equestrem pugnam velocitate peditum, quos ex omni iuventute delectos ante aciem locant. Definitur et numerus: centeni ex singulis pagis sunt, idque ipsum inter suos vocantur, et quod primo numerus fuit, iam nomen et honor est. Acies per cuneos componitur. Cedere loco, dummodo rursus instes consilii quam formidinis arbitrantur. Corpora suorum etiam in dubiis proeliis referunt. Scutum reliquisse praecipuum flagitium, nec aut sacris adesse aut concilium inire ignominioso fas; multique superstites bellorum infamiam laqueo finierunt.

VII. Reges ex nobilitate, dŭces ex virtute sumunt. Nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas, et duces exemplo potius quam imperio, si prompti, si conspicui, si ante aciem agant, admiratione praesunt. Ceterum neque animadvertere neque vincire, ne verberare quidem nisi sacerdotibus permissum, non quasi in poenam nec ducis iussu, sed velut deo imperante, quem adesse bellantibus credunt. Effigiesque et signa quaedam detracta lucis in proelium ferunt; quodque praecipuum fortitudinis incitamentum est, non casus nec fortuita

conglobatio turmam aut cuneum facit, sed familiae et propinquitates; et in proximo pignora, unde feminarum ululatus audiri, unde vagitus infantium. Hi cuique sanctissimi testes, hi maximi laudatores. Ad matres, ad coniuges vulnera ferunt; nec illae numerare aut exigere plagas pavent, cibosque et hortamina pugnantibus gestant. VIII. Memoriae proditur quasdam acies inclinatas iam et labantes a feminis restitutas constantia precum et obiectu pectorum et monstrata cominus captivitate, quam longe impatientius feminarum suarum nomine timent, adeo ut efficacius obligentur animi civitatum quibus inter obsides puellae quoque nobiles imperantur. Inesse quin etiam sanctum aliquid et providum putant, nec aut consilia earum aspernantur aut responsa negligunt. Vidimus sub divo Vespasiano Veledam diu apud plerosque numinis loco habitam. Sed et olim Albrunam et compluris alias venerati sunt, non adulatione nec tamquam facerent deas.

IX. Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent. Herculem ac Martem concessis animalibus placant. Pars Sueborum et Isidi sacrificat: unde causa et origo peregrino sacro parum comperi, nisi quod signum ipsum in modum liburnae figuratum docet advectam religionem. Ceterum nec cohibere parietibus deos neque in ullam humani oris speciem adsimulare ex magnitudine caelestium arbitrantur: lucos ac nemora consecrant deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud quod sola reverentia vident.

X. Auspicia sortesque ut qui maxime observant. Sortium consuetudo simplex: virgam frugiferae arbori decisam in surculos amputant eosque notis quibusdam

discretos super candidam vestem temere ac fortuito spargunt. Mox, si publice consultetur, sacerdos civitatis, sin privatim, ipse pater familiae, precatus deos caelumque suspiciens ter singulos tollit, sublatos secundum impressam ante notam interpretatur. Si prohibuerunt, nulla de eadem re in eundem diem consultatio; sin permissum, auspiciorum adhuc fides exigitur. Et illud quidem etiam hic notum, avium voces volatusque interrogare. Proprium gentis equorum quoque praesagia ac monitus experiri. Publice aluntur isdem nemoribus ac lucis, candidi et nullo mortali opere contacti; quos pressos sacro curru sacerdos ac rex vel princeps civitatis comitantur hinnitusque ac fremitus observant. Nec ulli auspicio maior fides, non solum apud plebem, sed apud proceres, apud sacerdotes; se enim ministros deorum, illos conscios putant. Est et alia observatio auspiciorum, qua gravium bellorum eventus explorant. Eius gentis cum qua bellum est, captivum quoquo modo interceptum cum electo popularium suorum, patriis quemque armis, committunt: victoria huius vel illius pro praeiudicio accipitur.

XI. De minoribus rebus principes consultant, de maioribus omnes, ita tamen, ut ea quoque, quorum penes plebem arbitrium est, apud principes pertractentur. Coeunt, nisi quid fortuitum et subitum incidit, certis diebus, cum aut incohatur luna aut impletur; nam agendis rebus hoc auspicatissimum initium credunt. Nec dierum numerum, ut nos, sed noctium computant. Sic constituunt, sic condicunt: nox ducere diem videtur. Illud ex libertate vitium, quod non simul nec ut iussi conveniunt, sed et alter et tertius dies cunctatione coeuntium absumitur. Ut turbae placuit, considunt armati. Silentium per sacerdotes, quibus

tum et coercendi ius est, imperatur. Mox rex vel princeps, prout aetas cuique, prout nobilitas, prout decus bellorum, prout facundia est, audiuntur, auctoritate suadendi magis quam iubendi potestate. Si displicuit sententia, fremitu aspernantur; sin placuit, frameas concutiunt. Honoratissimum adsensus genus est armis laudare.

XII. Licet apud concilium accusare quoque et discrimen capitis intendere. Distinctio poenarum ex delicto. Proditores et transfugas arboribus suspendunt, ignavos et imbelles et corpore infames caeno ac palude iniecta insuper crate mergunt. Diversitas supplicii illuc respicit, tamquam scelera ostendi oporteat, dum puniuntur, flagitia abscondi. Sed et levioribus delictis pro modo poena. Equorum pecorumque numero convicti multantur. Pars multae regi vel civitati, pars ipsi, qui vindicatur, vel propinquis eius exsolvitur. Eliguntur in isdem conciliis et principes, qui iura per pagos vicosque reddunt. Centeni singulis ex plebe comites, consilium simul et auctoritas, adsunt.

XIII. Nihil autem neque publicae neque privatae rei nisi armati agunt. Sed arma sumere non ante cuiquam moris, quam civitas suffecturum probaverit. Tum in ipso concilio vel principum aliquis vel pater vel propinqui scuto frameaque iuvenem ornant. Haec apud illos toga, hic primus iuventae honos; ante hoc domus pars videntur, mox reipublicae. Insignis nobilitas aut magna patrum merita principis dignationem etiam adulescentulis adsignant: ceteris robustioribus ac iampridem probatis adgregantur, nec rubor inter comites aspici. Gradus quin etiam et ipse comitatus habet iudicio eius quem sectantur; magnaque et comitum

aemulatio, quibus primus apud principem suum locus, et principum, cui plurimi et acerrimi comites. Haec dignitas, hae vires, magno semper electorum iuvenum globo circumdari, in pace decus, in bello praesidium. Nec solum in sua gente cuique, sed apud finitimas quoque civitates id nomen, ea gloria est, si numero ac virtute comitatus emineat; expetuntur enim legationibus et muneribus ornantur et ipsa plerumque fama bella profligant. XIV. Cum ventum in aciem, turpe principi virtute vinci, turpe comitatui virtutem principis non adaequare. Iam vero infame in omnem vitam ac probrosum superstitem principi suo ex acie recessisse. Illum defendere, tueri, sua quoque fortia facta gloriae eius adsignare praecipuum sacramentum est. Principes pro victoria pugnant, comites pro principe. Si civitas, in qua orti sunt, longa pace et otio torpeat, plerique nobilium adulescentium petunt ultro eas nationes quae tum bellum aliquod gerunt, quia et ingrata genti quies, et facilius inter ancipitia clarescunt, magnumque comitatum non nisi vi belloque tueare. Exigunt enim principis sui liberalitate illum bellatorem equum, illam cruentam victricemque frameam. Nam epulae et, quamquam incompti, largi tamen apparatus pro stipendio cedunt. Materia munificentiae per bella et raptus. Nec arare terram, aut exspectare annum tam facile persuaseris quam vocare hostem et vulnera mereri. Pigrum quin immo et iners videtur sudore adquirere quod possis sanguine parare.

XV. Quotiens bella non ineunt, non multum venatibus, plus per otium transigunt, dediti somno ciboque, fortissimus quisque ac bellicosissimus nihil agens, delegata domus et penatium et agrorum cura feminis seni-

busque et infirmissimo cuique ex familia; ipsi hebent, mira diversitate naturae, cum idem homines sic ament inertiam et oderint quietem. Mos est civitatibus ultro ac viritim conferre principibus vel armentorum vel frugum, quod pro honore acceptum etiam necessitatibus subvenit. Gaudent praecipue finitimarum gentium donis, quae non modo a singulis, sed et publice mittuntur, electi equi, magna arma, phalerae torquesque. Iam et pecuniam accipere docuimus.

XVI. Nullis Germanorum populis urbes habitari satis notum est, ne pati quidem inter se iunctas sedes. Colunt discreti ac diversi, ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus placuit. Vicos locant non in nostrum morem conexis et cohaerentibus aedificiis: suam quisque domum spatio circumdat, sive adversus casus ignis remedium sive inscitia aedificandi. Ne caementorum quidem apud illos aut tegularum usus: materia ad omnia utuntur informi et citra speciem aut delectationem. Quaedam loca diligentius inlinunt terra ita pura ac splendente, ut picturam ac lineamenta colorum imitetur. Solent et subterraneos specus aperire eosque multo insuper fimo onerant, suffugium hiemi et receptaculum frugibus, quia rigorem frigorum eiusmodi locis molliunt, et si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur, abdita autem et defossa aut ignorantur aut eo ipso fallunt quod quaerenda sunt.

XVII. Tegumen omnibus sagum fibula aut, si desit, spina consertum: cetera intecti totos dies iuxta focum atque ignem agunt. Locupletissimi veste distinguuntur, non fluitante, sicut Sarmatae ac Parthi, sed stricta et singulos artus exprimente. Gerunt et ferarum pelles, proximi ripae negligenter, ulteriores exquisitius, ut quibus nullus per commercia cultus. Eligunt feras et

detracta velamina spargunt maculis pellibusque beluarum quas exterior Oceanus atque ignotum mare gignit. Nec alius feminis quam viris habitus, nisi quod feminae saepius lineis amictibus velantur eosque purpura variant, partemque vestitus superioris in manicas non extendunt, nudae brachia ac lacertos; sed et proxima pars pectoris patet.

XVIII. Quamquam severa illic matrimonia, nec ullam morum partem magis laudaveris. Nam prope soli barbarorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui non libidine, sed ob nobilitatem plurimis nuptiis ambiuntur. Dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus offert. Intersunt parentes et propinqui ac munera probant, munera non ad delicias muliebres quaesita nec quibus nova nupta comatur, sed boves et frenatum equum et scutum cum framea gladioque. In haec munera uxor accipitur, atque invicem ipsa armorum aliquid viro adfert: hoc maximum vinculum, haec arcana sacra, hos coniugales deos arbitrantur. Ne se mulier extra virtutum cogitationes extraque bellorum casus putet, ipsis incipientis matrimonii auspiciis admonetur venire se laborum periculorumque sociam, idem in pace, idem in proelio passuram ausuramque. Hoc iuncti boves, hoc paratus equus, hoc data arma denuntiant; sic vivendum, sic pereundum: accipere se quae liberis inviolata ac digna reddat, quae nurus accipiant rursusque ad nepotes referantur. XIX. Ergo saepta pudicitia agunt, nullis spectaculorum inlecebris, nullis conviviorum inritationibus corruptae. Litterarum secreta viri pariter ac feminae ignorant. Paucissima in tam numerosa gente adulteria, quorum poena praesens et maritis permissa. Abscisis crinibus nudatam coram

propinquis expellit domo maritus ac per omnem vicum verbere agit. Publicatae enim pudicitiae nulla venia: non forma, non aetate, non opibus maritum invenerit. Nemo enim illic vitia ridet, nec corrumpere et corrumpi saeculum vocatur. Melius quidem adhuc eae civitates, in quibus tantum virgines nubunt et cum spe votoque uxoris semel transigitur. Sic unum accipiunt maritum quomodo unum corpus unamque vitam, ne ulla cogitatio ultra, ne longior cupiditas, ne tamquam maritum, sed tamquam matrimonium ament.

Numerum liberorum finire aut quemquam ex adgnatis necare flagitium habetur, plusque ibi boni mores valent quam alibi bonae leges. XX. In omni domo nudi ac sordidi in hos artus, in haec corpora, quae miramur, excrescunt. Sua quemque mater uberibus alit, nec ancillis ac nutricibus delegantur. Dominum ac servum nullis educationis deliciis dignoscas: inter eadem pecora, in eadem humo degunt, donec aetas separet ingenuos, virtus adgnoscat. Sera iuvenum venus, eoque inexhausta pubertas. Nec virgines festinantur; eadem iuventa, similis proceritas: pares validaeque miscentur, ac robora parentum liberi referunt.

Sororum filiis idem apud avunculum qui apud patrem honor. Quidam sanctiorem arctioremque hunc nexum sanguinis arbitrantur et in accipiendis obsidibus magis exigunt, tamquam et animum firmius et domum latius teneant. Heredes tamen successoresque sui cuique liberi, et nullum testamentum. Si liberi non sunt, proximus gradus in possessione fratres, patrui, avunculi. Quanto plus propinquorum, quanto maior adfinium numerus, tanto gratiosior senectus; nec ulla orbitatis pretia. XXI. Suscipere tam

inimicitias seu patris seu propinqui quam amicitias necesse est. Nec implacabiles durant: luitur enim etiam homicidium certo armentorum ac pecorum numero recipitque satisfactionem universa domus, utiliter in publicum, quia periculosiores sunt inimicitiae iuxta libertatem.

Convictibus et hospitiis non alia gens effusius indulget. Quemcumque mortalium arcere tecto nefas habetur; pro fortuna quisque apparatis epulis excipit. Cum defecere, qui modo hospes fuerat, monstrator hospitii et comes; proximam domum non invitati adeunt. Nec interest: pari humanitate accipiuntur. Notum ignotumque quantum ad ius hospitis, nemo discernit. Abeunti, si quid poposcerit, concedere moris; et poscendi invicem eadem facilitas. Gaudent muneribus, sed nec data imputant nec acceptis obligantur. Victus inter hospites comis.

XXII. Statim e somno, quem plerumque in diem extrahunt, lavantur, saepius calida, ut apud quos plurimum hiems occupat. Lauti cibum capiunt: separatae singulis sedes et sua cuique mensa. Tum ad negotia nec minus saepe ad convivia procedunt armati. Diem noctemque continuare potando nulli probrum. Crebrae, ut inter vinolentos, rixae, raro conviciis, saepius caede et vulneribus transiguntur. Sed et de reconciliandis invicem inimicis et iungendis adfinitatibus et asciscendis principibus, de pace denique ac bello plerumque in conviviis consultant, tamquam nullo magis tempore aut ad simplices cogitationes pateat animus aut ad magnas incalescat. Gens non astuta nec callida aperit adhuc secreta pectoris licentia ioci; ergo detecta et nuda omnium mens. Postera die retractatur, et salva utri-

usque temporis ratio est: deliberant, dum fingere nesciunt, constituunt, dum errare non possunt. XXIII. Potui umor ex hordeo aut frumento, in quandam similitudinem vini corruptus: proximi ripae et vinum mercantur. Cibi simplices, agrestia poma, recens fera, aut lac concretum. Sine apparatu, sine blandimentis expellunt famem. Adversus sitim non eadem temperantia. Si indulseris ebrietati suggerendo quantum concupiscunt, haud minus facile vitiis quam armis vincentur.

XXIV. Genus spectaculorum unum atque in omni coetu idem. Nudi iuvenes, quibus id ludicrum est, inter gladios se atque infestas frameas saltu iaciunt. Exercitatio artem paravit, ars decorem, non in quaestum tamen aut mercedem: quamvis audacis lasciviae pretium est voluptas spectantium. Aleam, quod mirere, sobrii inter seria exercent, tanta lucrandi perdendive temeritate, ut, cum omnia defecerunt, extremo ac novissimo iactu de libertate ac de corpore contendant. Victus voluntariam servitutem adit: quamvis iuvenior, quamvis robustior adligari se ac venire patitur. Ea est in re prava pervicacia; ipsi fidem vocant. Servos condicionis huius per commercia tradunt, ut se quoque pudore victoriae exsolvant.

XXV. Ceteris servis non in nostrum morem, discriptis per familiam ministeriis, utuntur: suam quisque sedem, suos penates regit. Frumenti modum dominus aut pecoris aut vestis ut colono iniungit, et servus hactenus paret: cetera domus officia uxor ac liberi exsequuntur. Verberare servum ac vinculis et opere coercere rarum. Occidere solent, non disciplina et severitate, sed impetu et ira, ut inimicum, nisi quod impune est. Liberti non

multum supra servos sunt. Raro aliquod momentum in domo, numquam in civitate, exceptis dumtaxat iis gentibus quae regnantur: ibi enim et super ingenuos et super nobiles ascendunt: apud ceteros impares libertini libertatis argumentum sunt.

XXVI. Faenus agitare et in usuras extendere ignotum; ideoque magis servatur quam si vetitum esset.

Agri pro numero cultorum ab universis in vices occupantur, quos mox inter se secundum dignationem partiuntur; facilitatem partiendi camporum spatia praestant. Arva per annos mutant, et superest ager. Nec enim cum ubertate et amplitudine soli labore contendunt, ut pomaria conserant et prata separent et hortos rigent: sola terrae seges imperatur. Unde annum quoque ipsum non in totidem digerunt species: hiems et ver et aestas intellectum ac vocabula habent, autumni perinde nomen ac bona ignorantur.

XXVII. Funerum nulla ambitio: id solum observatur, ut corpora clarorum virorum certis lignis crementur. Struem rogi nec vestibus nec odoribus cumulant: sua cuique arma, quorundam igni et equus adicitur. Sepulcrum caespes erigit: monumentorum arduum et operosum honorem ut gravem defunctis aspernantur. Lamenta ac lacrimas cito, dolorem et tristitiam tarde ponunt. Feminis lugere honestum est, viris meminisse.

Haec in commune de omnium Germanorum origine ac moribus accepimus. Nunc singularum gentium instituta ritusque, quatenus differant, quae nationes e Germania in Gallias commigraverint, expediam.

XXVIII. Validiores olim Gallorum res fuisse summus auctorum divus Iulius tradit; eoque credibile est etiam

Gallos in Germaniam transgressos. Quantulum enim amnis obstabat quo minus, ut quaeque gens evaluerat, occuparet permutaretque sedes promiscuas adhuc et nulla regnorum potentia divisas? Igitur inter Hercyniam silvam Rhenumque et Moenum amnes Helvetii, ulteriora Boii, Gallica utraque gens, tenuere. Manet adhuc Boihaemi nomen significatque loci veterem memoriam quamvis mutatis cultoribus. Sed utrum Aravisci in Pannoniam ab Osis Germanorum natione an Osi ab Araviscis in Germaniam commigraverint, cum eodem adhuc sermone institutis moribus utantur, incertum est, quia pari olim inopia ac libertate eadem utriusque ripae bona malaque erant. Treveri et Nervii circa adfectationem Germanicae originis ultro ambitiosi sunt, tamquam per hanc gloriam sanguinis a similitudine et inertia Gallorum separentur. Ipsam Rheni ripam haud dubie Germanorum populi colunt, Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes. Ne Ubii quidem, quamquam Romana colonia esse meruerint ac libentius Agrippinenses conditoris sui nomine vocentur, origine erubescunt, transgressi olim et experimento fidei super ipsam Rheni ripam conlocati, ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur.

XXIX. Omnium harum gentium virtute praecipui Batavi non multum ex ripa, sed insulam Rheni amnis colunt, Chattorum quondam populus et seditione domestica in eas sedes transgressus in quibus pars Romani imperii fierent. Manet honos et antiquae societatis insigne. Nam nec tributis contemnuntur nec publicanus atterit; exempti oneribus et conlationibus et tantum in usum proeliorum sepositi, velut tela atque arma, bellis reservantur. Est in eodem obsequio et Mattiacorum gens; protulit enim magnitudo populi

Romani ultra Rhenum ultraque veteres terminos imperii reverentiam. Ita sede finibusque in sua ripa, mente animoque nobiscum agunt, cetera similes Batavis, nisi quod ipso adhuc terrae suae solo et caelo acrius animantur.

Non numeraverim inter Germaniae populos, quamquam trans Rhenum Danuviumque consederint, eos qui Decumates agros exercent. Levissimus quisque Gallorum et inopia audax dubiae possessionis solum occupavere; mox limite acto promotisque praesidiis sinus imperii et pars provinciae habentur.

XXX. Ultra hos Chatti initium sedis ab Hercynio saltu incohant, non ita effusis ac palustribus locis, ut ceterae civitates, in quas Germania patescit; durant siquidem colles, paulatim rarescunt, et Chattos suos saltus Hercynius prosequitur simul atque deponit. Duriora genti corpora, stricti artus, minax vultus et maior animi vigor. Multum, ut inter Germanos, rationis ac sollertiae: praeponere electos, audire praepositos, nosse ordines, intellegere occasiones, differre impetus, disponere diem, vallare noctem, fortunam inter dubia, virtutem inter certa numerare, quodque rarissimum nec nisi ratione disciplinae concessum, plus reponere in duce quam in exercitu. Omne robur in pedite, quem super arma ferramentis quoque et copiis onerant. Alios ad proelium ire videas, Chattos ad bellum. Rari excursus et fortuita pugna. Equestrium sane virium id proprium, cito parare victoriam, cito cedere: velocitas iuxta formidinem, cunctatio propior constantiae est.

XXXI. Et aliis Germanorum populis usurpatum raro et privata cuiusque audentia apud Chattos in consensum vertit, ut primum adoleverint, crinem bar-

bamque submittere, nec nisi hoste caeso exuere votivum obligatumque virtuti oris habitum. Super sanguinem et spolia revelant frontem, seque tum demum pretia nascendi retulisse dignosque patria ac parentibus ferunt. Ignavis et imbellibus manet squalor. Fortissimus quisque ferreum insuper anulum (ignominiosum id genti) velut vinculum gestat, donec se caede hostis absolvat. Plurimis Chattorum hic placet habitus, iamque canent insignes et hostibus simul suisque monstrati. Omnium penes hos initia pugnarum; haec prima semper acies, visu nova, nam ne in pace quidem vultu mitiore mansuescunt. Nulli domus aut ager aut aliqua cura: prout ad quemque venere, aluntur, prodigi alieni, contemptores sui, donec exsanguis senectus tam durae virtuti impares faciat.

XXXII. Proximi Chattis certum iam alveo Rhenum, quique terminus esse sufficiat, Usipi ac Tencteri colunt. Tencteri super solitum bellorum decus equestris disciplinae arte praecellunt; nec maior apud Chattos peditum laus quam Tencteris equitum. Sic instituere maiores: posteri imitantur. Hi lusus infantium, haec iuvenum aemulatio: perseverant senes. Inter familiam et penates et iura successionum equi traduntur: excipit filius, non ut cetera, maximus natu, sed prout ferox bello et melior.

XXXIII. Iuxta Tencteros Bructeri olim occurrebant: nunc Chamavos et Angrivarios immigrasse narratur, pulsis Bructeris ac penitus excisis vicinarum consensu nationum, seu superbiae odio seu praedae dulcedine seu favore quodam erga nos deorum. Nam ne spectaculo quidem proelii invidere: super sexaginta milia non armis telisque Romanis, sed, quod magnificentius est, oblectationi oculisque ceciderunt. Maneat, quaeso,

duretque gentibus, si non amor nostri, at certe odium sui, quando urgentibus imperii fatis nihil iam praestare fortuna maius potest quam hostium discordiam.

XXXIV. Angrivarios et Chamavos a tergo Dulgubnii et Chasuarii cludunt aliaeque gentes haud perinde memoratae. A fronte Frisii excipiunt. Maioribus minoribusque Frisiis vocabulum est ex modo virium. Utraeque nationes usque ad Oceanum Rheno praetexuntur ambiuntque immensos insuper lacus et Romanis classibus navigatos. Ipsum quin etiam Oceanum illa temptavimus. Et superesse adhuc Herculis columnas fama vulgavit, sive adiit Hercules, seu quicquid ubique magnificum est, in claritatem eius referre consensimus. Nec defuit audentia Druso Germanico; sed obstitit Oceanus in se simul atque in Herculem inquiri. Mox nemo temptavit, sanctiusque ac reverentius visum de actis deorum credere quam scire.

XXXV. Hactenus in occidentem Germaniam novimus. In septentrionem ingenti flexu redit. Ac primo statim Chaucorum gens, quamquam incipiat a Frisiis ac partem litoris occupet, omnium quas exposui gentium lateribus obtenditur, donec in Chattos usque sinuetur. Tam immensum terrarum spatium non tenent tantum Chauci, sed et implent, populus inter Germanos nobilissimus, quique magnitudinem suam malit iustitia tueri. Sine cupiditate, sine impotentia, quieti secretique nulla provocant bella, nullis raptibus aut latrociniis populantur. Id praecipuum virtutis ac virium argumentum est, quod ut superiores agant, non per iniurias adsequuntur. Prompta tamen omnibus arma ac, si res poscat, exercitus, plurimum virorum equorumque; et quiescentibus eadem fama.

XXXVI. In latere Chaucorum Chattorumque Cherusci nimiam ac marcentem diu pacem inlacessiti nutrierunt. Idque iucundius quam tutius fuit, quia inter impotentes et validos falso quiescas: ubi manu agitur, modestia ac probitas nomina superioris sunt. Ita qui olim boni aequique Cherusci, nunc inertes ac stulti vocantur: Chattis victoribus fortuna in sapientiam cessit. Tracti ruina Cheruscorum et Fosi, contermina gens: adversarum rerum ex aequo socii sunt, cum in secundis minores fuissent.

XXXVII. Eundem Germaniae sinum proximi Oceano Cimbri tenent, parva nunc civitas, sed gloria ingens. Veterisque famae lata vestigia manent, utraque ripa castra ac spatia, quorum ambitu nunc quoque metiaris molem manusque gentis et tam magni exitus fidem. Sescentesimum et quadragesimum annum urbs nostra agebat, cum primum Cimbrorum audita sunt arma Caecilio Metello et Papirio Carbone consulibus. Ex quo si ad alterum Imperatoris Traiani consulatum computemus, ducenti ferme et decem anni colliguntur: tam diu Germania vincitur. Medio tam longi aevi spatio multa invicem damna. Non Samnis, non Poeni, non Hispaniae Galliaeve, ne Parthi quidem saepius admonuere; quippe regno Arsacis acrior est Germanorum libertas. Quid enim aliud nobis, quam caedem Crassi, amisso et ipse Pacoro, infra Ventidium deiectus Oriens obiecerit? At Germani Carbone et Cassio et Scauro Aurelio et Servilio Caepione Gnaeoque Mallio fusis vel captis, quinque simul consulares exercitus populo Romano, Varum trisque cum eo legiones etiam Caesari abstulerunt; nec impune C. Marius in Italia, divus Iulius in Gallia, Drusus ac Nero et Germanicus in suis eos sedibus percu-

lerunt. Mox ingentes Gaii Caesaris minae in ludibrium versae. Inde otium, donec occasione discordiae nostrae et civilium armorum expugnatis legionum hibernis etiam Gallias adfectavere; ac rursus inde pulsi proximis temporibus triumphati magis quam victi sunt.

XXXVIII. Nunc de Suebis dicendum est, quorum non una ut Chattorum Tencterorumve gens; maiorem enim Germaniae partem obtinent, propriis adhuc nationibus nominibusque discreti, quamquam in commune Suebi vocentur. Insigne gentis obliquare crinem nodoque substringere. Sic Suebi a ceteris Germanis, sic Sueborum ingenui a servis separantur. In aliis gentibus seu cognatione aliqua Sueborum seu, quod saepe accidit, imitatione, rarum et intra iuventae spatium: apud Suebos usque ad canitiem horrentem capillum retro sequuntur, ac saepe in ipso [solo] vertice religant. Principes et ornatiorem habent. Ea cura formae, sed innoxiae; neque enim ut ament amenturve; in altitudinem quandam et terrorem adituri bella compti, ut hostium oculis, ornantur.

XXXIX. Vetustissimos se nobilissimosque Sueborum Semnones memorant. Fides antiquitatis religione firmatur. Stato tempore in silvam auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacram omnes eiusdem sanguinis populi legationibus coeunt caesoque publice homine celebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordia. Est et alia luco reverentia: nemo nisi vinculo ligatus ingreditur, ut minor et potestatem numinis prae se ferens. Si forte prolapsus est, attolli et insurgere haud licitum: per humum evolvuntur. Eoque omnis superstitio respicit, tamquam inde initia gentis, ibi regnator omnium deus, cetera subiecta atque parentia. Adicit auctoritatem fortuna Sem-

nonum: centum pagi iis habitantur, magnoque corpore efficitur ut se Sueborum caput credant.

XL. Contra Langobardos paucitas nobilitat: plurimis ac valentissimis nationibus cincti non per obsequium, sed proeliis ac periclitando tuti sunt. Reudigni deinde et Aviones et Anglii et Varini et Eudoses et Suardones et Nuithones fluminibus aut silvis muniuntur. Nec quicquam notabile in singulis, nisi quod in commune Nerthum, id est terram matrem, colunt, eamque intervenire rebus hominum, invehi populis arbitrantur. Est in insula Oceani castum nemus, dicatumque in eo vehiculum, veste contectum. Attingere uni sacerdoti concessum. Is adesse penetrali deam intellegit vectamque bubus feminis multa cum veneratione prosequitur. Laeti tunc dies, festa loca, quaecumque adventu hospitioque dignatur. Non bella ineunt, non arma sumunt; clausum omne ferrum; pax et quies tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum amata, donec idem sacerdos satiatam conversatione mortalium deam templo reddat. Mox vehiculum et vestes et, si credere velis, numen ipsum secreto lacu abluitur. Servi ministrant, quos statim idem lacus haurit. Arcanus hinc terror sanctaque ignorantia, quid sit illud, quod tantum perituri vident.

XLI. Et haec quidem pars Sueborum in secretiora Germaniae porrigitur. Propior, (ut, quo modo paulo ante Rhenum, sic nunc Danuvium sequar) Hermundurorum civitas, fida Romanis; eoque solis Germanorum non in ripa commercium, sed penitus atque in splendidissima Raetiae provinciae colonia. Passim sine custode transeunt; et cum ceteris gentibus arma modo castraque nostra ostendamus, his domos villasque patefecimus non concupiscentibus. In Hermunduris Albis

oritur, flumen inclitum et notum olim; nunc tantum auditur.

XLII. Iuxta Hermunduros Naristi ac deinde Marcomani et Quadi agunt. Praecipua Marcomanorum gloria viresque, atque ipsa etiam sedes pulsis olim Boiis virtute parta. Nec Naristi Quadive degenerant. Eaque Germaniae velut frons est, quatenus Danuvio peragitur. Marcomanis Quadisque usque ad nostram memoriam reges manserunt ex gente ipsorum, nobile Marobodui et Tudri genus. Iam et externos patiuntur, sed vis et potentia regibus ex auctoritate Romana. Raro armis nostris, saepius pecunia iuvantur, nec minus valent.

XLIII. Retro Marsigni, Cotini, Osi, Buri terga Marcomanorum Quadorumque claudunt. E quibus Marsigni et Buri sermone cultuque Suebos referunt: Cotinos Gallica, Osos Pannonica lingua coarguit non esse Germanos, et quod tributa patiuntur. Partem tributorum Sarmatae, partem Quadi ut alienigenis imponunt. Cotini, quo magis pudeat, et ferrum effodiunt. Omnesque hi populi pauca campestrium, ceterum saltus et vertices montium iugumque insederunt. Dirimit enim scinditque Suebiam continuum montium iugum, ultra quod plurimae gentes agunt. Ex quibus latissime patet Lugiorum nomen in plures civitates diffusum. Valentissimas nominasse sufficiet, Harios, Helveconas, Manimos, Elisios, Nahanarvalos. Apud Nahanarvalos antiquae religionis lucus ostenditur. Praesidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu; sed deos interpretatione Romana Castorem Pollucemque memorant. Ea vis numini, nomen Alcis. Nulla simulacra, nullum peregrinae superstitionis vestigium; ut fratres tamen, ut iuvenes venerantur. Ceterum Harii super vires, quibus enumeratos paulo

ante populos antecedunt, truces insitae feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur. Nigra scuta, tincta corpora; atras ad proelia noctes legunt ipsaque formidine atque umbra feralis exercitus terrorem inferunt, nullo hostium sustinente novum ac velut infernum aspectum; nam primi in omnibus proeliis oculi vincuntur.

Trans Lugios Gotones regnantur, paulo iam adductius quam ceterae Germanorum gentes, nondum tamen supra libertatem. Protinus deinde ab Oceano Rugii et Lemovii; omniumque harum gentium insigne rotunda scuta, breves gladii et erga reges obsequium.

XLIV. Suionum hinc civitates ipso in Oceano praeter viros armaque classibus valent. Forma navium eo differt, quod utrimque prora paratam semper adpulsui frontem agit. Nec velis ministrantur, nec remos in ordinem lateribus adiungunt: solutum, ut in quibusdam fluminum, et mutabile, ut res poscit, hinc vel illinc remigium. Est apud illos et opibus honos, eoque unus imperitat, nullis iam exceptionibus, non precario iure parendi. Nec arma, ut apud ceteros Germanos, in promiscuo, sed clausa sub custode, et quidem servo, quia subitos hostium incursus prohibet Oceanus, otiosae porro armatorum manus facile lasciviunt. Enimvero neque nobilem neque ingenuum, ne libertinum quidem armis praeponere regia utilitas est.

XLV. Trans Suionas aliud mare, pigrum ac prope immotum, quo cingi cludique terrarum orbem hinc fides, quod extremus cadentis iam solis fulgor in ortus edurat adeo clarus ut sidera hebetet; sonum insuper emergentis audiri formasque equorum et radios capitis aspici persuasio adicit. Illuc usque, et fama vera, tantum natura.

Ergo iam dextro Suebici maris litore Aestiorum gen-

tes adluuntur, quibus ritus habitusque Sueborum, lingua Britannicae propior. Matrem deum venerantur. Insigne superstitionis formas aprorum gestant. Id pro armis omniumque tutela securum deae cultorem etiam inter hostis praestat. Rarus ferri, frequens fustium usus. Frumenta ceterosque fructus patientius quam pro solita Germanorum inertia laborant. Sed et mare scrutantur, ac soli omnium sucinum, quod ipsi glaesum vocant, inter vada atque in ipso litore legunt. Nec quae natura quaeve ratio gignat, ut barbaris, quaesitum compertumve. Diu quin etiam inter cetera eiectamenta maris iacebat, donec luxuria nostra dedit nomen. Ipsis in nullo usu: rude legitur, informe perfertur, pretiumque mirantes accipiunt. Sucum tamen arborum esse intelligas, quia terrena quaedam atque etiam volucria animalia plerumque interlucent, quae implicata umore mox durescente materia cluduntur. Fecundiora igitur nemora lucosque sicut Orientis secretis, ubi tura balsamaque sudantur, ita Occidentis insulis terrisque inesse crediderim, quae vicini solis radiis expressa atque liquentia in proximum mare labuntur ac vi tempestatum in adversa litora exundant. Si naturam sucini admoto igni temptes, in modum taedae accenditur, alitque flammam pinguem et olentem; mox ut in picem resinamve lentescit.

Suionibus Sitonum gentes continuantur. Cetera similes uno differunt, quod femina dominatur: in tantum non modo a libertate, sed etiam a servitute degenerant. Hic Suebiae finis.

XLVI. Peucinorum Venedorumque et Fennorum nationes Germanis an Sarmatis adscribam dubito, quamquam Peucini, quos quidam Bastarnas vocant, sermone,

cultu, sede ac domiciliis ut Germani agunt. Sordes omnium ac torpor procerum: conubiis mixtis nonnihil in Sarmatarum habitum foedantur. Venedi multum ex moribus traxerunt; nam quicquid inter Peucinos Fennosque silvarum ac montium erigitur latrociniis pererrant. Hi tamen inter Germanos potius referuntur, quia et domos figunt et scuta gestant et pedum usu ac pernicitate gaudent: quae omnia diversa Sarmatis sunt in plaustro equoque viventibus. Fennis mira feritas, foeda paupertas: non arma, non equi, non penates; victui herba, vestitui pelles, cubile humus: sola in sagittis spes, quas inopia ferri ossibus asperant. Idemque venatus viros pariter ac feminas alit; passim enim comitantur partemque praedae petunt. Nec aliud infantibus ferarum imbriumque suffugium quam ut in aliquo ramorum nexu contegantur: huc redeunt iuvenes, hoc senum receptaculum. Sed beatius arbitrantur quam ingemere agris, inlaborare domibus, suas alienasque fortunas spe metuque versare. Securi adversus homines, securi adversus deos, rem difficillimam adsecuti sunt, ut illis ne voto quidem opus esset. Cetera iam fabulosa: Hellusios et Oxionas ora hominum vultusque, corpora atque artus ferarum gerere: quod ego ut incompertum in medium relinquam.

NOTES

TO THE AGRICOLA

Argument

CHAPS.

1–3. Reasons for writing the book. The better times under Nerva and Trajan.

4. A.D. 40. Birth and education of Agricola.

5, 6. His military experience and civil career.

7, 8. A.D. 70. Placed in command of the twentieth legion in Britain.

9. A.D. 74. Governor of Aquitania and designated governor of Britain.

10–12. Description of Britain.

13–17. Its conquest and government before the arrival of Agricola.

18–39. A.D. 78–85. Agricola in Britain.

- 18. A.D. 78. War with the Ordovices. Expedition to Mona.
- 19. Reform of abuses.
- 20. A.D. 79. Agricola's character as a commander.
- 21. The arts of peace.
- 22. A.D. 80. Conquest to the Tanaus.
- 23. A.D. 81. To the Clota and Bodotria.
- 24. A.D. 82. Occupation of the coast facing Ireland. Description of Ireland.
- 25–27. A.D. 83. Expedition beyond the Bodotria. War with the Caledonians.
- 28. Adventure of the Usipian cohort.
- 29. A.D. 84. Renewal of the war.
- 30–32. Speech of Calgacus.
- 33, 34. Speech of Agricola.
- 35–37. Battle of Mons Graupius.
- 38. End of the campaign. Expedition of the fleet.
- 39. Attitude of Domitian.

40. A.D. 85. Return of Agricola to Rome.

41, 42. His treatment by Domitian.

43. A.D. 93. His death.

44. His character and demeanor.

45. The character of the times.

46. Epilogue.

NOTE. — In the grammatical references, *A. & G.* stands for *Allen and Greenough; B.* for *Bennett; G.* for *Gildersleeve-Lodge; H.* for *Harkness.*

AGRICOLA

CHAPTER I

1 2 usitatum: this participle stands in apposition with the clause *clarorum . . . tradere*, where we might rather expect a relative clause. It is a common construction in Tacitus. — **ne nostris quidem,** etc.: 'even our generation,' indifferent as it is. — **quamquam incuriosa:** this use of *quamquam* and some other conjunctions with adjectives or participles, that is, without any complete predicate, is common with Tacitus (cf. chs. 16, 22, 33, etc.) and the writers of his age. So in English 'although [it is] indifferent.'

1 3 suorum: 'its great men'; objective genitive after *incuriosa*, 'indifferent.'

1 7 pronum magisque in aperto: the metaphor is from a course downhill through open country. Cf. ch. 33: *vota virtusque in aperto omniaque prona victoribus*. The opposite condition is represented *Ann.* 4, 46, *bellumque impeditum, arduum.*

1 9 gratia: 'partiality' or 'partisanship,' desire to gratify. — **ambitione:** 'self-seeking,' desire to get favor or reputation for themselves.

1 11 fiduciam morum: 'confidence in their own character,' consciousness of rectitude; in apposition with *suam . . . narrare.*

1 12 Rutilio: P. Rutilius Rufus, a friend of Laelius and Scipio, a statesman, orator, and Stoic philosopher, a man of unblemished integrity in an age of corruption. He was banished about B.C. 92 by an unjust verdict, because his strict administration of his province had brought upon him the enmity of the public contractors. He wrote (probably in his banishment at Smyrna) an autobiography; also (in Greek) a Roman history. — **Scauro:** M. Aemilius Scaurus, consul B.C. 115 and 107. He was the leader of the aristocracy during the period of reaction between the Gracchi and the civil war; a man of pride and some show of dignity, but venal. He wrote his own life. — **citra:** in writers of the silver age used in the sense of 'without.' — **obtrectationi:** dative of end or service. This union of different constructions to express the same relation, *citra fidem et obtrectationi*, is common in Tacitus.

1 13 adeo: used, as it frequently is, to qualify the whole sentence; 'so true it is that,' etc.

1 14 nunc: in these times. In contrast to *apud priores* above.

1 15 narraturo: the phrase *narraturo vitam* contains an implication of praise, from the general encomiastic character of ancient biography

and is to be contrasted with *incusaturus*. Cf. Nep. *Pelop.* 1, 1, where *vitam enarrare* is opposed to *historiam scribere*. See Introd. p. xi. — **opus fuit**: perfect, 'I have been obliged to ask.' This first chapter is, as it were, an apology for his undertaking.

1 16 **incusaturus**: a protasis, 'if I had been about to attack': in this case, such was the depraved public sentiment, he would not have needed indulgence. In the following chapter Tacitus proceeds to give examples of the evil times.

CHAPTER II

1 18 **Legimus**: perfect: this does not refer to books — Tacitus did not need to go to them for the events of his own time — but to the *acta diurna*, an official bulletin published by authority of the emperor, and serving much as a morning paper to the citizens of the capital — or, as accounts of trials were sometimes suppressed in these by Domitian (Dio, 67, 11, 3), to the *acta senatus*. — **Aruleno**, etc.: Arulenus Rusticus and Herennius Senecio were men eminent for their abilities and virtues, who were put to death by Domitian, because they had eulogized these victims of former tyranny; Paetus Thrasea was put to death by Nero, Helvidius Priscus was banished by him, and afterwards suffered death under Vespasian. *Aruleno* and *Herennio* are datives of agency, a very common construction in the silver age.

1 21 **saevitum [esse]**: 'vengeance was wreaked.' — **triumviris**: sc. *capitalibus* or *nocturnis*: an inferior grade of officers, invested with certain police powers, as assistants of the aediles, as well as in certain classes of civil cases. They were the public executioners when the punishment was inflicted in the prison. Their being deputed to the work of burning the books was designed to increase the contumely, as the burning of books was regularly performed by the aediles, magistrates of high rank; so, in modern times, burning by the common hangman.

1 23 **in comitio ac foro**: the comitium was at the northwest part of the forum, towards the Capitoline mount: the words *in foro* are perhaps added to indicate the publicity of the act.

2 3 **sapientiae**: 'philosophy.' — **professoribus**: in the modern meaning of the word. The teachers of philosophy were banished about A.D. 93. — **omni bona arte**: this relates to the same act; by the banishment of the philosophers, every high aspiration in art and science was driven into exile.

2 4 **occurreret**: used without an object, 'should meet one': almost in the modern sense, 'occur.' Notice that *honestum* qualifies *quid* as

an attribute, 'anything that is honorable'; *quid . . . honesti* would mean, 'any virtue or honor.'

2 7 inquisitiones: this refers to the trade of informer, or *delator*, which was at its height under Domitian. (See Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, vol. 7, p. 127; see also vol. 5, p. 130.)

CHAPTER III

2 10 Nunc demum: i.e., after the death of Domitian, who was assassinated in September, 96.

2 11 saeculi: a cycle of years, originally identified with the longest age of a man, which was reckoned to be 100 years (Mommsen, *Römische Chronologie*, p. 174). It is used here in a more general sense, 'age,' and especially as the reign of a given prince.

2 12 Nerva Caesar: Nerva reigned from September, A.D. 96, to January 27, A.D. 98. Trajan was adopted by him and associated with him in the empire in October, 97, adding the name of Nerva to his own. It would seem, since the term *divus* is not applied to Nerva, and from the reference to Trajan below, that this work was composed within the period of the joint sovereignty of the two. On the other hand, the dead emperors were not always referred to as *divus* (cf. *Hist.* 1, 1 and the reference to Nerva in Pliny, *Pan.* 8), and the expression *principem Traianum*, ch. 44, seems to indicate that Trajan was then in possession of the undivided imperial power. The *Agricola* may have been begun in Nerva's lifetime, but finished after his death. Cf. Furneaux, *ad loc.* — **miscuerit:** *quamquam* with the subjunctive is found first in Cicero, thereafter with increasing frequency. It is the regular construction in Tacitus. — **principatum:** the office of prince or emperor, 'monarchy'; this mixture of royalty and liberty makes a constitutional monarchy.

2 15 fiduciam ac robur may be regarded as a hendiadys: 'firmly grounded confidence in the efficacy of the prayer.'

2 19 oppresseris . . . revocaveris: the common use of the perfect subjunctive, second person singular, to express an indefinite subject; 'one can,' etc. — **Subit:** 'creeps upon us.' — **quippe:** this particle is primarily asseverative, 'in truth'; but being frequently used in causal clauses, it is used by late writers as equivalent to *quoniam*. In this place it comes nearer to its original meaning, but still with a slight causal force; 'nay, more than this,' etc.

2 21 quindecim annos: Domitian reigned from A.D. 81 to 96.

2 26 iuvenes: 'those of us who were young.' The age *iuventus* extended to about 45.

2 27 **ipsos exactae aetatis terminos**: 'the very limit of a completed life.'

2 28 **memoriam**: this refers to his *Histories*, which embraced the period from the death of Nero (A.D. 68) to that of Domitian (A.D. 96).

2 29 **testimonium**: an allusion to his intention of writing a history of the reigns of Nerva and Trajan (see *Hist.* 1, 1), a plan which he appears never to have carried into execution.

2 30 **composuisse**: the past tense is used from the standpoint of the time of publication. Andresen compares Liv. 1, 1, 3: *iuvabit . . . consuluisse.*

CHAPTER IV

3 2 **Foroiuliensium** (the name of the people put, as is very common, for that of the town): Forum Iulii (*Fréjus*), on the coast of Gallia Narbonensis was a colony founded by Julius Caesar. It had an excellent harbor, for which reason Augustus sent there the ships captured at Actium, and made it a naval station to guard the coast. It was during the empire the chief naval station of this coast. — **colonia**: see on *senum*, ch. 32, 12. — **procuratorem**: the procurators (agent or proctor) were the financial officers of the emperor, one of whom was stationed in each province. In the senatorial provinces, which were administered by a proconsul and quaestor, the procurator had charge only of the revenues which were especially destined to the *fiscus*, or privy purse of the emperor; in the imperial provinces, the procurator was the sole financial officer. In the lowest grade of imperial provinces, a procurator had the entire charge of the administration of the province. See on *legatis consularibus*, ch. 7, 13.

3 3 **quae**: the antecedent is the clause *utrumque . . . habuit.* — **equestris nobilitas**: procuratorships of the two classes mentioned last (above), conferred a certain distinction upon the members of the equestrian order, somewhat akin to nobility proper, which, it will be remembered, belonged to persons any of whose ancestors had held curule office; equites whose ancestors had held the procuratorship enjoyed 'equestrian nobility.'

3 4 **senatorii ordinis**: genitive of quality used absolutely. The senatorial and equestrian orders were not fixed categories of rank, but, as is shown in the case of Agricola himself, often indicated the stage of honor which the individual had attained.

3 6 **Gaii Caesaris**: better known as Caligula, emperor after Tiberius, A.D. 37–41; a cruel, dissolute youth, no doubt insane. Seneca says of Graecinus: *quem C. Caesar occidit ob hoc unum, quod melior vir esset quam esse quemquam tyranno expedit* (*De Benef.* 2, 21). Graecinus wrote

a treatise *de Vineis* (Columella, 1, 14). — **M. Silanum:** M. Junius Silanus, whose daughter married Caligula, was hated by this tyrant, and commanded by him to kill himself.

3 8 **sinu indulgentiaque:** a kind of hendiadys, 'in her tender protection.'

3 9 **honestarum artium:** the usual term is *liberales artes*. These were the branches of learning that conduce to general culture as opposed to those that fit merely for a professional career — the studies suited to freemen, *liberi*. Grammar, Rhetoric, Mathematics, and Philosophy were those perhaps most commonly included under the term, but its meaning is elastic.

3 10 **Arcebat:** the subject is the clause, *quod . . . habuit.*

3 11 **peccantium** = *peccatorum:* similar uses of the participle are common in Livy and Tacitus.

3 13 **Massiliam:** Marseilles, an ancient Greek town of high reputation for culture and character.

3 14 **mixtum:** note the construction, where the English would say, 'in which were mingled.'

3 17 **Romano ac senatori:** i.e., in view of the dry and practical tastes of the Romans, and especially the merely political qualities needed by a senator.

Perhaps, too, Tacitus had in mind the hostility generally existing between the Roman emperors of this day and the representatives of the Stoic philosophy — as that between Nero and Thrasea, Domitian and Herennius Senecio. An explanation of this attitude on the part of the emperors is given by Seneca, *Ep.* 73, 1: *errare mihi videntur qui existimant philosophiae fideliter deditos contumaces esse ac refractarios et contemptores magistratuum ac regum eorumve per quos publica administrantur.* — **hausisse:** represents here *hauriebat* of direct discourse; 'he began (and would have continued) to drink in,' if, etc. A. & G. 517, *b*; B. 304, 3; G. 597, 2; H. 581, 1.

3 18 **prudentia matris:** Cf. Suet. *Nero*, 52 (of Nero): *sed a philosophia eum mater avertit, monens, imperaturo contrariam esse.*

3 21 **caute:** for *cautius*. A. & G. 292, *a*, N.; G. 299, N. 2; H. 499, 3. The most characteristic quality of Agricola was energy.— **Mox:** 'afterwards,' a post-Augustan meaning.

3 22 **ex sapientia:** i.e., as a result of his philosophical studies.

3 23 **modum:** i.e., of character.

CHAPTER V

3 24 **castrorum:** 'military science,' of which the rules of encampment (fortification) formed a principal part. — **Suetonio Paulino:** A.D. 59–61 (see ch. 14). Dative after *adprobavit*.

3 25 **moderato:** his most prominent characteristic as a general was caution. — **adprobavit:** 'performed to the satisfaction of.'

3 26 **contubernio:** ablative of value. — **aestimaret:** subjunctive of characteristic.

3 28 **titulum:** referring to the idleness and ignorance of those who received the rank of tribune merely as an empty title. Agricola did not use his title and his inexperience to gain privileges. — **tribunatus:** this is the military tribuneship; six tribunes commanded each legion. Under the Empire this office and also membership in the xxvirate regularly preceded the quaestorship.

3 29 **noscere,** etc.: the historical infinitive, very common in Tacitus.

3 32 **exercitatior:** equivalent to *excitatior*. Cf. Hor. *Epod.* 9, 31: *exercitatas . . . Syrtes noto;* Petron. 83: *senex canus, exercitati vultus.* This was the time of the famous revolt of Boudicca, A.D. 61; see chs. 15–16; *Ann.* 14, 31 ff.

4 2 **coloniae:** a rhetorical exaggeration. There was probably at this time but one regularly organized colony in Britain, Camulodunum (Colchester); but there were populous settlements of Roman citizens in London and other places and Verulamium (St. Albans) was a *municipium* (see on *senum*, ch. 32, 12). Before the end of the first century Lindum (Lincoln) and Glevum (Gloucester) received the rights of *coloniae:* before the middle of the third century, probably Eburacum (York). Cf. Ramsay, *Foundations of England*, vol. 1, p. 103; Haverfield, *Romanization of Roman Britain*, p. 48. — **intersepti:** 'hemmed in.' The soldiers in the colony took refuge in a temple and were there besieged and overpowered by the Britains. Of the whole colony at this time Tacitus says, *Ann.* 14, 32, *quasi media pace incauti multitudine barbarorum circumveniuntur.* The statement made here, as if these conditions were generally prevalent, is of course an exaggeration.

4 4 **alterius:** for *alius*, which is very rare on account of its ambiguity of form. Similarly *alienus* is used as the possessive of *alius*. — **summa rerum:** 'the whole credit for the campaign.' Cf. Caes. *B. G.* 7, 21: *quod paene in eo . . . summam victoriae constare intellegebant.*

4 7 **temporibus:** best taken as ablative; these qualities were not unacceptable 'to the age,' but to the ruling authorities 'in the age.'

4 8 **erga eminentes**: connected with *interpretatio*. An unfavorable interpretation was put upon every thing that they did.

CHAPTER VI

4 10 **ad capessendos magistratus**: it was necessary to pass through the several grades of magistracy in order to rise to high stations in the army. See notes below; also ch. 7. *Capessere* is a technical expression in this use.

4 12 **decus ac robur**: not merely 'honor,' but also positive 'assistance' was derived from this marriage. See on *subsidium*, line 21.

4 14 **se**: pleonastic, as *invicem* is the regular equivalent for *inter se* in silver Latin generally, and elsewhere in Tacitus with the exception of *Dial.* 25, where *invicem se* is found as here. — **nisi quod**, etc.: there is an ellipsis here, suggested by *invicem;* 'this mutual regard is equally a credit to both of them, *unless* — good wives being so rare — it should be considered *that*, etc.'

4 16 **Sors quaesturae**: The quaestorship stood first in the series of honors; forty were elected each year at the end of the Republic, but Augustus seems to have reduced the number to twenty. They were assigned by lot to service in the city and the several provinces. Their functions in the provinces were financial; they attended to the finances of the state and its treasury, *aerarium*, while the procurators had charge of the finances of the emperor and his privy purse, *fiscus*. The quaestorship could, in the Empire, be held at the age of 25. — **Asiam**: this province embraced the western part of Asia Minor; being an old and quiet province, it belonged to the class of senatorial provinces, and was therefore governed by a proconsul: see on *legatis consularibus*, ch. 7, 13. — **Salvium Titianum**: brother of the emperor Otho, and, like him, a corrupt and greedy man.

4 17 **neutro**: neuter, relating to both circumstances, the richness of the province and the venality of the governor.

4 20 **facilitate**: 'indulgence.' — **redempturus esset**: 'was ready to purchase.'

4 21 **subsidium**: by the Lex Papia Poppaea a certain precedence in taking honors was allowed to those who had children.

4 22 **sublatum**: the child soon after birth was laid at its father's feet, and he, by lifting it up, *tollere*, recognized it, and professed his intention to rear it.

4 23 **tribunatum plebis**: this was the second stage of honors; either this or the aedileship was, in the Empire, required of all except patricians before they could hold the praetorship.

4 25 **pro sapientia fuit:** 'served for' or 'was a mark of wisdom'; see end of last chapter.

4 26 **iurisdictio:** the administration of justice in civil cases belonged to only two out of the whole college of praetors (sometimes as many as eighteen in number at this time), the *urbanus* and *peregrinus*.

4 27 **medio:** 'in a mean between.'

4 28 **duxit:** 'he conducted.' *Fecit* would be the usual word. — **uti . . . ita:** 'while far from luxury, yet' (for this very reason) 'nearer to renown' (than would have been the case had he shown extravagance).

4 29 **Galba:** the successor of Nero, A.D. 68.— **ad dona . . . recognoscenda:** that is, those which had been plundered by Nero, or by his favorites. Agricola got back all except those which had come into the hands of Nero himself.

4 30 **ne:** rather than *ut non*, as not infrequently after verbs of effecting where it is the aim of the act rather than the accomplishment that is emphasized. See Hale and Buck, *Latin Grammar* 502, 3, *a*, footnote 3. Cf. Cic. *Verr.* 5, 2, 5: M. *Crassi, fortissimi viri, virtute consilioque factum ne . . . fugitivi ad Messanam transire possent. Ne* is similarly used after *perpetrari*, *Ann.* 14, 11.

4 31 **sensisset:** 'he brought it about that the state should not feel,' i.e., should be as if it had never felt.

CHAPTER VII

4 32 **Sequens annus:** A.D. 69. On the 15th of January Galba was murdered by the Praetorian Guard, and succeeded by Otho; Agricola, having been an officer of Galba, was exposed to the resentment of his successor.

5 1 **classis Othoniana:** for an account of this expedition see *Hist.* 1, 87; 2, 12–15.

5 2 **Intimilium:** Albium Intimilium (modern Vintimiglia) was a free town, *municipium*, upon the seacoast of Liguria, a few miles east of *Nicaea*, Nice. The sufferings of this town at the hands of Otho's soldiers are described by Tacitus, *Hist.* 2, 13. — **Liguriae:** Liguria was the ninth of the eleven regions into which Augustus divided Italy: it was bounded on the north by the *Padus*, Po; on the east by the Trebia and Macra.

5 4 **patrimonii:** the original meaning, of an inherited estate, appears to have been lost, and the word is used here especially to denote furniture and household property.

5 6 **adfectati . . . imperii:** a participle and noun in agreement are often equivalent to a verbal abstract noun with a genitive dependent

on it (e.g., Liv. 21, 1: *Sicilia Sardiniaque amissae* — 'the loss of Sicily and Sardinia'), 'the news of the claiming of the throne by Vespasian,' i.e. 'the news that Vespasian had claimed the throne.' — **Vespasiano:** Otho had been succeeded, after a short reign, by Vitellius, and he in turn by Vespasian, governor of Judaea. Vespasian's general, Licinius Mucianus, governor of Syria, led the advance against Vitellius, overthrew his power, and administered affairs in Rome for some time before Vespasian arrived in Italy from the East. All these events took place A.D. 69.

5 7 in partes: 'to the party': sc. *Vespasiani.*

5 8 statum urbis: cf. *Hist.* 4, 11: *tali rerum statu . . . . Mucianus urbem ingressus cuncta simul in se traxit.*

5 9 Domitiano: Domitian, the younger son of Vespasian, afterwards infamous for his vices and tyranny as emperor.

5 11 vicensimae legioni: this legion, known as *Valeria Victrix*, was stationed in Britain, with headquarters at this time probably at Deva (Chester). It had been transferred from Germany to Britain by Claudius in 43 A.D. The other legions stationed in Britain by Claudius were the second, *Augusta*, the ninth, *Hispana* (*Hist.* 3, 22), and the fourteenth, *Gemina* (*Ann.* 14, 37; *Hist.* 2, 11; 66), which was withdrawn the same year that Agricola took command of the twentieth legion, 70 A.D. and probably replaced by the second *Adiutrix*. What were the headquarters of these legions at different times is a matter of dispute, but in a general way it may be said that the second *Augusta*, the fourteenth and the twentieth were employed chiefly in the west, with quarters for the most part at Isca (Caerleon), Viroconium (Wroxeter), and Deva respectively, while the ninth garrisoned the eastern part of the island at Lindum (Lincoln) and Eburacum (York), the second *Adiutrix* at Lindum.

5 12 ubi = *apud quam*, as shown by *nimia* and *formidolosa* following.

5 13 decessor: his name was Roscius Caelius. — **quippe:** with ellipsis (naturally enough), for it was too much even for *legati consulares*. — **legatis consularibus:** the provinces which were so completely brought under the authority of the Empire as to need no armed force (eleven in all), were administered, as in the Republic, by proconsuls. The rest of the provinces were placed under the immediate rule of the emperor as proconsul, who governed them through his *legati*, or, in the case of some of inferior importance, by mere agents, *procuratores*. The title *legatus Augusti pro praetore* belonged to all of these *legati*, but the importance of the province to be assigned determined whether a man of praetorian or of consular rank should be appointed. A province which

required only a single legion was assigned to a *legatus* of praetorian rank, while those which required more than one legion, like Britain, were given to *legati consulares* (i.e., of consular rank). *Legatus consularis* means, therefore, governor of an imperial province of the first rank.

5 14 **nimia**: 'too powerful,' 'too much for them.' Cf. *Hist.* 4, 23: *praeferoces initio et rebus secundis nimii.* — **legatus praetorius**: The commander in chief was the governor of the province, through the powers delegated to him by the emperor. The commander of each legion was a *legatus legionis*, regularly of praetorian rank. Roscius Caelius is here meant.

5 15 **incertum suo an militum ingenio**: these words carry out the idea expressed in *narrabatur*. Tacitus gives no opinion of his own on the subject. In *Hist.* 1, 60 he describes the governor, Trebellius, as *per avaritiam ac sordes contemptus exercitui invisusque* and adds *Trebellius seditionem et confusum ordinem disciplinae Caelio, spoliatas et inopes legiones Caelius Trebellio obiectabat*, thus leaving room for doubt as to the guilt of Roscius Caelius, or at least room for an excuse. Both Trebellius and Bolanus, his successor, are described as inefficient in ch. 16. — **suo**, sc. (*ingenio*): i.e., by his own fault.

5 16 **successor et ultor**, predicate after *electus; successor* relates to the governor, *ultor* to the mutinous soldiers.

5 17 **videri**: i.e., by working upon their feeling of honor.

CHAPTER VIII

5 19 **Vettius Bolanus**: see ch. 16.

5 21 **incresceret**: 'become too prominent': the subject is Agricola.

5 22 **obsequi** and **miscere**: poetic construction after adjectives.

5 23 **consularem**, sc. *legatum*: 'governor'; a common ellipsis. — **Petilium Cerialem**: see ch. 17.

5 24 **exemplorum**: objective genitive: 'room to display themselves.'

5 26 **communicabat**, sc. *cum eo*.

5 27 **ex**: 'after,' i.e., 'in consequence of' success.

5 29 **auctorem**: the one under whose 'authority' and by whose auspices he acted.

5 31 **extra**: = *sine*.

CHAPTER IX

5 32 **Revertentem** (not *reversum*): 'on his way back.' — **legatione legionis**: see on *legatus praetorius*, ch. 7, 14.

6 1 **patricios**: the old patriciate had become almost extinct, as no additions had been made to it since the very earliest days of the

Republic; the emperors therefore adopted the policy of bestowing this rank upon persons of high birth and distinction, in order to increase the splendor of their court, and in order that certain priesthoods, held only by patricians (*rex sacrificulus*, *flamines maiores*), might be filled. — **provinciae Aquitaniae:** see on *legatis consularibus*, ch. 7, 13.

6 2 **administratione:** 'by virtue of its administrative function.' Gudeman.

6 5 **castrensis iurisdictio:** 'military law,' exercised by a commander over his soldiers. — **secura:** 'free from solicitude,' as not being subject to appeal, to the caprice or ignorance of juries, or to the scrutiny of opposing counsel. — **obtusior:** 'simple': i.e., resting upon blunt common sense, not upon acute legal analysis. — **manu agens:** 'offhand,' 'summary.'

6 6 **fori:** the Roman courts of justice were upon the forum; hence our word 'forensic.'

6 7 **togatos** = *cives*, the toga being the garb of peace. The word cannot be confined here, as usual, to Roman citizens.

6 8 **Iam vero:** 'moreover.' — **divisa:** i.e., from one another.

6 9 **conventus:** the judicial districts into which the provinces were divided (cf. Plin. *N. H.* 3, 1, 7, 3); also, as probably here, the assemblies held in the districts for the purposes of jurisdiction. These were a kind of judicial circuit; by *iudicia* is meant the regular administration of justice by the governor in the city of his residence. — **poscerent:** A. & G. 518, *c;* B. 287, 2, *a;* G. 567, N.; H. 602, 3.

6 10 **et saepius misericors:** *aliquando severus et saepius misericors* as (without *et*), in ch. 38: *aliquando frangi aspectu pignorum suorum saepius concitari.* See Nipperdey, *Opusc.* 239.

6 11 **personam:** 'mask': putting on of the dignity of power.

6 12 **avaritiam:** an excess of strictness in money matters.

6 16 **boni indulgent:** cf. *Hist.* 4, 6: *quando etiam sapientibus cupido gloriae novissima exuitur*, and Milton, *Lycidas:*

> Fame
> That last infirmity of noble mind.

6 18 **conlegas:** the governors of neighboring provinces. — **procuratores:** the imperial agents in his own province: see on, ch. 4, 2. As the procurators were directly responsible, not to the governors, but to the emperor, quarrels appear to have been very common between them and the governors (Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, p. 110).

6 20 **triennium:** for case see A. & G. 407, *c;* B. 217, 2; G 296, R. 4; H. 471, 4.

6 21 **statim:** in sense qualifies *ad spem.* — **consulatus:** the office of consul was now hardly more than a title, held usually for two months. Agricola held it with Domitian during the last six months of A.D. 77.

6 22 **ei provinciam dari:** Britain was virtually assigned to him already. — **nullis in hoc sermonibus:** 'not because of any words of his to this effect.'

6 27 **pontificatus:** an ancient priesthood having, in the Republic, the general supervision of the religion of the state; it had now become a mere dignity, all its power being exercised by the emperor, who was *ex officio* its head, *pontifex maximus.*

Chs. X–XVIII contain a digression upon the nature and previous history of the island preparatory to the account of Agricola's administration. See Introd. p. x.

CHAPTER X

6 28 **multis scriptoribus:** dative of agent. Passages descriptive of Britain written before the time of Tacitus, that have come down to us, are as follows. Caesar, *B. G.* 4, 20–36; 5, 1; 2; 8–23; Diodorus Siculus, 5, 21, 3; 5, 22; 5, 32, 3; Strabo, 2, 5, 8, 115; 4, 5, 1–5, 199–201; 1, 4, 3, 63; 2, 1, 18, 75; Mela, 3, 6; Plin. *N. H.* 4, 102–104; 109; 2, 186; 187; 217; 246; 6, 219; 220; 7, 206; 9, 116; 169; 10, 56; 17, 42–45; 22, 2; 30, 13; 32, 62; 33, 24; 34, 164; 37, 35.

6 29 **in comparationem:** i.e., in order to surpass former writers in these respects.

6 31 **comperta** = *satis certa.* — **percoluere:** former writers had 'decked out uncertainties with fine language.' — **rerum fide:** 'with historical accuracy.'

7 2 **spatio ac caelo:** = *spatio caeli:* datives with *obtenditur.*

7 3 **Germaniae, Hispaniae:** genitives dependent on *spatio ac caelo.* The position of Britain in relation to Germany and Spain is designated by *in orientem* and *in occidentem* respectively. Translate: 'Britain . . . lies within the same latitude (*spatio ac caelo — obtenditur*) as that of Germany on the east and of Spain on the west.' In contrast to this more general indication of geographical position with relation to eastern and western boundaries, follows the exact designation of the southern boundary: *Gallis in meridiem etiam inspicitur.* — **Hispaniae:** Caesar, *B. G.* 5, 13, makes the same mistake.

7 4 **Gallis:** the so-called dative of the agent, rare with the present tense. — **inspicitur:** 'is visible.'

7 5 **nullis . . . terris:** ablative absolute. — **contra:** adverbial.

7 6 **Livius:** i.e., in his 105th book, as is known from the Epitome. — **veterum** and **recentium:** sc. *auctorum*.

7 7 **Fabius Rusticus,** author of a history of the emperors beginning with the reign of Claudius.

7 8 **oblongae scutulae:** The term *scutula* is used of a dish, Cato, *R. R.* 68, 1, and of a geometrical figure, e.g., in a pavement, Vitruv. 7, 1, 4. The exact shape is not known, but from Tacitus' use of *vel* he must have thought of it as resembling the *bipennis* in its general outline (see Tucker, *Class. Rev.*, vol. XV, p. 46). The epithet *oblongae* must then be taken as meaning not 'oblong,' or 'quadrilateral,' but 'rather long,' 'elongated.' Pliny uses it of a gem, *N. H.* 37, 12, 75, 196. The comparison holds good, Tacitus says, for the portion south of Caledonia which is something like one half of a *bipennis*. But Caledonia cannot be likened to the other half, as it diminishes like a wedge to the north.

7 9 **citra:** 'as far as.' Caledonia is that part of Scotland which lies north of the Forth and Clyde.

7 11 **extremo iam litore:** i.e., when one seems to have already reached the end, where the island narrows at the friths of Forth and Clyde. — **velut in cuneum tenuatur:** i.e., it first widens, then again narrows like a wedge.

7 12 **novissimi:** 'most distant.' — **tunc primum:** i.e., under Agricola's administration; see ch. 38.

7 14 **adfirmavit:** 'proved beyond a doubt.' The fact was already virtually known, from the time of Pytheas (fourth century B.C.), but seems to have been often forgotten. Quintilian (7, 4, 2), referring to *suasoriae* based on the questions which Caesar might have considered before invading Britain, suggests *an Britannia insula* (*nam tum ignorabatur*).

7 15 **Orcadas:** the Orkneys. That they were discovered at this time is not true, for Pomponius Mela (3, 6) and Pliny (*N. H.* 4, 16, 30, 103) both speak of them. — **Dispecta:** 'seen dimly.'

7 16 **Thule:** The identity of this land, described first by Pytheas (Plin. *N. H.* 2, 75,77,187) as five days' sail north of Britain, is uncertain. One of the Shetland Islands has been plausibly suggested. — **hactenus:** 'only so far.' These reasons are given for not visiting the land.

7 17 **pigrum:** this adjective, applied also in the *Germania* (ch. 45) to the northern sea, is sometimes explained as 'frozen.' That this is not the case in this passage is shown by the explanation which follows. The statement is scarcely based upon any direct observations made by Agricola's fleet. It is probable that Tacitus is merely passing on an

early conception of the unknown outer ocean as a windless sea, viscous and almost immovable. Cf. Seneca Rhet. *Suas.* 1.

7 18 **perinde:** sc. *atque alia maria.*

7 23 **fluminum:** 'currents.' — **huc atque illuc:** 'forward and backward.' — **ferre:** the subject is *mare.*

7 24 **litore tenus:** 'only to the shore.' — **accrescere aut resorberi:** 'flow or ebb.'

7 25 **inseri:** reflexive, 'makes its way.'

7 26 **in suo:** 'in its own dominions.'

CHAPTER XI

7 27 **Ceterum:** introducing, as not infrequently, a return to the main theme after a digression. Cf. *Dial.* 26.

7 28 **ut inter barbaros:** sc. *fieri solet.*

7 29 **varii:** i.e., in different parts of the island. — **argumenta:** i.e., as to their origin, that they were not of one nationality.

7 30 **rutilae comae,** etc.: not red, but reddish yellow; in the *Germania,* ch. 4, Tacitus speaks of the *rutilae comae, magna corpora* of the Germans. The Picts of Caledonia, or northern Scotland, were probably descendants of the Caledonians of Tacitus.

7 31 **colorati:** 'swarthy.'

7 32 **posita contra:** a common idiom of the participle (see on *adfectati imperii,* ch. 7, 6) — 'the fact that Spain lies opposite' (which, however, it does not); the Silurians were in South Wales. They were probably 'Gael, with a large infusion of Pre-Celtic blood.' Ramsay, *Foundations of England,* vol. 1, p. 56; Rhys, *Celtic Britain,* p. 81. The features here described were characteristic of the Iberians of Spain.

8 2 **Proximi Gallis,** etc.: Caesar says the same, *B. G.* 5, 12: *maritima pars ab iis [incolitur] qui praedae ac belli inferendi causa ex Belgis transierunt;* adding, ch. 14, *neque multum a Gallica differunt consuetudine.*

Here we have three distinct nationalities, in the north, the west, and the south; of the first two we have the physical features carefully described; of the third, the statement of both Caesar and Tacitus that they were of Belgian origin. But the Belgians themselves were of doubtful nationality (Caes. *B. G.* 2, 4). Caesar does not tell us of any distinctions among the aborigines of Britain, such as Tacitus here indicates.

8 3 **in diversa:** 'in opposite directions': i.e., towards one another.

8 4 **positio caeli:** 'climate.'

8 5 **aestimanti:** 'when one considers.' This use of the present participle in the dative (of reference), a common construction in Greek, is often used in Latin by Livy and the later authors.

8 6 **Eorum:** i.e., the Gauls. — **superstitionum persuasiones:** 'religious beliefs.' *Superstitio* is regularly used by Tacitus of religions other than the Roman. Cf. *Germ.* 39.

8 7 **in deposcendis,** etc.: cf. Caes. *B. G.* 3, 19: *ut ad bella suscipienda Gallorum alacer ac promptus est animus, sic mollis ac minime resistens ad calamitates perferendas mens eorum est.*

8 10 **emollierit:** A. & G. 535, *e*, N. 1; B. 283, 3; G. 633; H. 592, 1.

8 11 **Nam Gallos quoque:** so Caes. *B. G.* 6, 24, *ac fuit antea tempus cum Germanos Galli virtute superarent.*

8 14 **Galli:** an attribute, 'when Gauls.'

CHAPTER XII

8 14 **robur:** 'principal strength.'

8 15 **honestior auriga:** just the opposite of the Greek custom as illustrated in Homer.

8 17 **per principes:** from one chief to another, as party feeling changed. See Nägelsbach, *Stil.* 494. — **factionibus:** of the nobles. — **studiis:** of the people. — **Nec aliud,** etc.: a general proposition, not referring to the Britons alone.

8 22 **Caelum,** etc.: a good description of the climate at the present day; Caesar also says, *B. G.* 5, 12, *remissioribus frigoribus,* as compared with Gaul.

8 23 **nostri orbis:** 'our part of the world.'

8 27 **transire:** i.e., above the horizon; the midnight sun of more northern latitudes is referred by Tacitus' informants to northern Britain.

8 28 **Scilicit,** etc.: this description is based on the theory that night is caused by the shadow of the earth cast upon the sky. Tacitus appears to have conceived the earth as a disk moderately rounded to its centre, like a shield; the sun passing along the very edge of this world cast no shadow except at some distance from the circumference. — **extrema et plana terrarum:** this kind of partitive genitive is very common in the late writers.

8 32 **tarde mitescunt, cito proveniunt:** *proveniunt* may mean either 'come forth' or as is more usual, 'grow up,' 'thrive.' Excessive moisture would cause the seeds to sprout quickly, and the foliage to grow luxuriantly, while fruit would develop slowly.

9 3 **pretium victoriae:** 'worth fighting for.'

9 5 **in rubro mari:** 'the Persian Gulf.'

9 6 **ego facilius,** etc.: an example of the keen, cynical humor of Tacitus.

9 7 **naturam:** 'quality.'

CHAPTER XIII

9 8 **Ipsi Britanni:** After describing the island (ch. 10), its inhabitants (ch. 11), and customs, climate, etc. (ch. 12), Tacitus proceeds to its history, which really begins, however, with *Igitur*, l. 12.

9 9 **obeunt:** a case of zeugma, as this verb applies only to *munera*, services; with *dilectum*, may be supplied *patiuntur*; with *tributa*, *conferunt*. These three make up the amount of the obligations resting upon the provincials. For the nature of these *munera*, see ch. 31. — *imperii* is here to be understood not as 'empire,' but 'authority': i.e., of the emperor.

9 12 **Igitur:** 'now': introducing a new subject. Not an unusual meaning. — **divus Iulius,** Julius Caesar.

9 13 **Britanniam ingressus:** B.C. 55 and 54: see Caesar's *Gallic War*, Books 4, and 5. He probably went no farther from the coast than St. Albans even in his second expedition.

9 14 **terruerit:** the late writers frequently use the subjunctive after '*quamquam*.' See on *miscuerit*, ch. 3, 12.

9 15 **bella civilia:** i.e., of Caesar and Pompey, and those that followed.

9 16 **principum:** Caesar and Pompey.

9 17 **Consilium, . . . praeceptum:** 'a matter of policy . . . a rule of the empire.' *Augustus addiderat . . . consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii, incertum metu an per invidiam. Ann.* 1, 11. See also Gibbon, ch. 1: Augustus 'bequeathed as a valuable legacy to his successors, the advice of confining the empire within those limits which nature seemed to have placed as its permanent bulwarks and boundaries.'

9 19 **Gaium Caesarem:** the crazy Caligula, the grandson of Augustus, and successor to Tiberius, A.D. 37–41. He went no farther than the coast of Gaul (Suet. *Calig.* 46).

9 20 **velox ingenio mobili paenitentiae,** sc. *fuisset: paenitentiae* is gen. with *velox*, a construction especially common in poetry. — **ingentes . . . conatus:** so in the *Germania*, ch. 37: *ingentes C. Caesaris minae in ludibrium versae.*

9 21 **Divus Claudius:** successor of Caligula, reigned A.D. 41–54: it was he that made Britain into a province. His expedition, in which he himself took part, was A.D. 43. He remained but sixteen days upon the island, but Aulus Plautius, the general sent in advance, had already made a successful beginning of the conquest.

9 22 **auctor operis:** Caesar had only 'shown' Britain to posterity, not 'handed it over' to them. Caligula had thought of attempting

its conquest, but had given up the plan. Claudius was therefore in reality *auctor operis*. See Leuze, *Phil. Supp.* 8, p. 525. — **legionibus auxiliisque**: a contrast constantly made; the legions were always composed of Roman citizens.

9 23 **adsumpto**: i.e., as commander of the second legion.

9 24 **fortunae**: this would seem to refer to all that follows, the elevation of Vespasian as well as the conquest of Britain.

9 25 **fatis**: probably dative with *monstratus*, 'to the Fates.'

CHAPTER XIV

9 26 **Aulus Plautius** (Silvanus): governor A.D. 43–47 (see *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* for this and the following dates, as certain or probable).

Plautius seems to have pushed his conquest as far west as the Bristol Channel. The Roman road whose course has been traced from London to Bath, through Silchester, the route of the present Great Western railroad (see Ward, p. 33), would probably represent approximately the northern frontier about the end of his command: Ostorius Scapula advanced to the north, to the neighborhood of the Irish Sea in the west, and of the Humber in the east. It was in his time that the colony at Camulodunum (Colchester), some fifty miles northeast of London, was established. No permanent gain was made for about twenty years after Scapula's time, the period covering the terms of office of Didius Gallus, Veranius, Suetonius Paulinus, Petronius, Trebellius, and Vettius Bolanus. Petilius Cerialis extended the Roman power partially over the Brigantes (from the Mersey and the Humber northwards), and Frontinus reduced the Silures (See Ramsay, l. c., vol. 1, p. 51 ff., Haverfield, p. 55).

9 27 **Ostorius Scapula** (P.): A.D. 47–52: Scapula did not go to his province, however, before the year 50 (see *Ann.*, 12, 31), and found it in a state of great disorder.

9 28 **in formam provinciae**: the appointment of a governor, *legatus consularis*, established the provincial organization, and this was made complete by the division of the territory into census districts and by other financial arrangements.

9 29 **colonia**: this was Camulodunum. See on line 26 above.

9 30 **Cogidumno**: not mentioned elsewhere. He may be identical with *Cogidubnus*, king of Regnum (Chichester), who was allowed to take the title *Tiberius Claudius legatus Augusti*. See *C. I. L.* 7, 11.

10 1 **haberet instrumenta**: note the peculiar order of thought; the subject is *populus Romanus*, supplied easily from *populi Romani*.

For an equally peculiar construction see *Germ.* 5: *pecorum fecunda sed plerumque improcera.* The principle of policy here indicated is given as if it were the purpose of this special act. — **et reges.** The territories of tributary princes were regarded as practically forming an integral part of the empire. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, vol. 1, p. 340; also Arnold's *Roman Provincial Administration*, p. 10 and following. — **Didius Gallus** (A.): governor A.D. 52–58. See *Ann.* 12, 40; 14, 29.

10 3 **in ulteriora:** i.e., beyond the organized province. — **aucti officii:** i.e., doing more than his duty.

10 4 **Veranius** (Q.): A.D. 58–59. See *Ann.* 14, 29.

10 6 **Suetonius . . . Paulinus** (C.): A.D. 59–61, recalled during the latter year. See *Ann.* 14, 29–39. — **biennio** = *per biennium.* A. & G. 424, *b*; B. 231, 1; H. 417, 2.

10 7 **quorum fiducia,** 'through confidence in which': qualifies *aggressus.*

10 8 **Monam:** Anglesea.

CHAPTER XV

10 11 **interpretando:** 'discussing.'

10 12 **tamquam:** See on ch. 16, 16. — **ex facili** = *facile.*

10 13 **Singulos:** 'one at a time.'

10 14 **binos:** i.e., the governor, *legatus consularis*, and fiscal agent, *procurator.* — **e quibus:** equivalent to the partitive genitive *quorum.*

10 16 **Alterius manum,** etc.: the officers detailed to assist the governor in administration formed a kind of staff, *manus;* the fiscal agent acted through clerks and accountants, who were regularly slaves. See for concrete cases, *Ann.* 14, 31: *Rex Icenorum, Prasutagos, longa opulentia clarus, Caesarem heredem duasque filias scripserat, tali obsequio ratus regnumque et domum suam procul iniuria fore. Quod contra vertit, adeo ut regnum per centuriones, domus per servos velut capta vastarentur.*

10 21 **tamquam . . . nescientibus:** 'as if their fatherland were the only thing for which they did not know how to die.'

10 22 **nescientibus:** agreeing with *sibi* understood, dative, after *eripi*, etc. — **Quantulum:** diminutive, 'what a mere handful.'

10 23 **Sic:** 'under circumstances such as ours.' — **Germanias:** this refers to the successful uprising of Arminius and the defeat of Varus, A.D. 9, which was, however, confined to Lower Germany.

10 24 **flumine:** i.e., nothing but a river, the Rhine.

10 25 **illis:** the Romans.

10 30 **Iam:** i.e., things had come to such a pass.

10 32 **quod difficillimum fuerit**: i.e., they have taken the first and most difficult step.

11 2 **deprehendi**: connected logically with *consiliis* — when one has once begun to entertain such schemes, etc.

CHAPTER XVI

11 3 **Boudicca**: This name is variously written in the manuscripts of the *Agricola*, and of other works, but the popular form *Boadicea* rests on no authority. *Boudicca* was queen of the *Iceni*, who occupied Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire. Ramsay (l. c. p. 54, N. 2,) would connect the name with the 'Icks' so thickly scattered over East Anglia, such as Ickenham, the Icknield way, etc. The story of this queen is told *Ann.* 14, 31. ff.

11 4 **imperiis**: this seems to imply 'military command,' rather than 'sovereignty.' The same thing is said of the Britons, *Ann.* 14, 35: *solitum quidem Britannis feminarum ductu bellare.* That they made no distinction of sex in military leaders does not necessarily imply that they made none in the case of rulers, who as a matter of fact seem to have been women very seldom.

11 11 **tenentibus**: concessive, 'although,' etc.; that is, he suppressed open rebellion although most still maintained a threatening attitude.

11 12 **proprius**: 'personal.'

11 14 **ut suae cuiusque**, etc.: i.e., 'punishing each wrong to the state as if done to himself'; *ut*, 'as,' qualifies *suae.*

11 16 **Petronius Turpilianus** (P.): governor A.D. 61–63. See *Ann.* 14, 39. — **tamquam**: causal, giving others' reasons (cf. Greek *ὡς* used with a participle) as frequently in Tacitus. See G. 602, N. 4.

11 17 **novus**: i.e., 'inexperienced.'

11 18 **prioribus**: neuter. — **Trebellio Maximo** (M.): he governed Britain A.D. 63–69. See *Hist.* 1, 60.

11 20 **experimentis**: 'experience.' — **curandi**: used absolutely, 'attending to matters.'

11 22 **civilium armorum**: following the death of Nero, A.D. 68.

11 24 **discordia**: i.e., with Roscius Caelius, commander of the twentieth legion. He was Agricola's predecessor in this capacity (see ch. 7).

11 26 **precario**: i.e., only by the sufferance of the soldiers.

11 27 **velut**: 'as it were.'

11 28 **Vettius Bolanus** (M.): A.D. 69–71. See *Hist.* 2, 65.

11 31 **nisi quod**: i.e., the only difference was that, etc.; see on ch. 6, 14.

CHAPTER XVII

12 3 **Petilius Cerialis** (Q.) : governor A.D. 71–74.

12 4 **Brigantum:** the Brigantes occupied the whole north of England, and were thus at this time outside of the Roman province. See on *Aulus Plautius*, ch. 14, 26.

12 9 **Iulius Frontinus** (Sex.) : A.D. 74–78, one of the most distinguished men of the day, author of a work *de Aqueductibus* and one *de Strategematis*.

12 10 **quantum licebat:** qualifies *sustinuit;* Frontinus was *vir magnus* without any qualification; nor were the times of Vespasian (notwithstanding his parsimony), *infesta virtutibus*, like those of Nero and Domitian. — **Silurum:** see on *Proximi Gallis*, ch. 11, 2.

CHAPTER XVIII

On this and the next two chapters see Introd., p. x.

12 14 **aestate:** Probably A.D. 78.

12 15 **omissa:** i.e., for this year.

12 16 **verterentur:** note the tense; they were making up their minds to idleness. — **Ordovicum:** they inhabited North Wales.

12 17 **alam:** a division of auxiliary cavalry, at this period from 500 to 1000 strong, divided into *turmae*, 'squadrons.'

12 18 **agentem:** 'stationed.' — **erecta provincia:** the insurrection, beginning among the free Britons, spread to the province.

12 19 **quibus volentibus:** a Greek construction. A. & G. 378, 2, N.; G. 353, N. 2; H. 430, 2. *Quibus* relates to *ii* understood, subject of the historical infinitive *probare*. The expression is equivalent to *qui bellum volebant*. Tr. 'in accordance with whose will.'

12 20 **animum:** 'temper.'

12 22 **numeri:** a common term for detached bodies of troops; cf. *Hist.* 1, 6: *Multi ad hoc numeri e Germania ac Britannia et Illyrico, quos . . . revocaverat;* supply *est* with *transvecta*, etc.

12 23 **tarda et contraria:** in apposition with the preceding clauses. — **incohaturo:** used generally, 'one who intends to begin.'

12 25 **vexillis:** The regular standard of the Roman legions was called *signum*, a metal figure, at the top of a staff — an eagle (*aquila*) for the whole legion, some other figure (sheep, hand, disc, etc.) for each cohort. The *vexillum* was a small square of white or red cloth attached to a cross-bar at the top of a staff (often connected with the *signum*). It was used for various special purposes; it was the standard of the

cavalry, and probably of the auxiliaries (see ch. 35); and a red *vexillum*, placed upon the general's tent, was the signal for advancing into battle. When a company of soldiers was detached on special service, its *signa* were left with the legion, and it took with it a *vexillum* instead; hence such detached bodies of troops are often, as here, called *vexilla*. The word here refers back to *numeri*.

12 26 **quia,** etc.: this causal clause, as is often the case, refers to the statement which follows.

12 28 **erexit:** 'led up,' i.e., up the mountain.

12 29 **instandum,** sc. *esse:* 'he must follow up his reputation.'

12 30 **cessissent:** represents *cesserint* (fut. perf. ind.) of direct discourse. — **ceteris:** masculine: the rest of the insurgents.

13 3 **auxiliarium:** these were no doubt Batavians, who lived in a land of rivers and marshes (modern Holland). Batavian auxiliaries took part in the battle of *Mons Graupius* (ch. 36). Their presence in Britain at a later period, as a garrison for the station of *Procolitia*, near Hadrian's wall is attested by both inscriptional and documentary evidence. By *vada* is meant not these particular shallows, but waters of this kind.

13 6 **mare:** a strongly rhetorical expression. The sentence might be rendered: 'who were looking toward (attack by) a fleet, ships, the sea.' Cf. *Hist.* 2, 12: *posessa per mare et naves maiore Italiae parte.*

13 7 **crediderint:** A. & G. 485, *c;* B. 268, 6; G. 513; H. 550.

13 10 **officiorum ambitum:** 'eager seeking after the pageantry of office,' a common meaning of *officia*.

13 12 **expeditionem aut victoriam:** predicate with *victos continuisse*, object of *vocabat*.

13 14 **laureatis,** sc. *litteris:* letters announcing victory were often wreathed with laurel.

13 15 **aestimantibus:** see on *aestimanti*, ch. 11, 5.

CHAPTER XIX

13 20 **domum:** his staff, assistants, etc.

13 22 **publicae rei:** limits *nihil;* 'no public business.'

13 24 **ascire:** 'detail' for special duty at headquarters, then, as now, regarded as a privilege; they were called *beneficiarii*.

13 25 **omnia . . . exsequi:** 'he was in touch with everything, but did not attempt to do everything himself' — the secret of success.

13 27 **nec poena semper, sed saepius paenitentia:** cf. ch. 9: *severus, et saepius misericors.*

13 28 **officiis et administrationibus**: this appears to refer to a higher grade of duties, the command of forts, detached posts, etc.

13 31 **circumcisis**, sc. *iis*: neuter.

13 32 **Namque**, etc. The rest of the chapter presents considerable difficulty, but is to be taken as explaining the abuses which were *tributo graviora*. These were two in number; the obligation of the provincials, it will be remembered, was to furnish corn. First, when the Romans had already an abundant supply, while the provincials would have preferred to pay money, they refused to receive money, so that the Britons 'were forced in mockery to wait outside the closed (because full) granaries (of the Romans), buy corn needlessly' and thus fulfill their obligations by payments in both money (*luere pretio*) and corn. Secondly, as they had the power to direct the corn to be delivered wherever they pleased, they would select for this purpose distant and inaccessible places in order that the provincials might be induced to offer them bribes so as to escape the hardship of carrying the corn so far.

14 4 **proximis hibernis**: adversative, 'even though winter quarters (where corn might have been delivered) were near by.'

14 5 **in promptu**: i.e., under fair conditions.

CHAPTER XX

14 7 **intolerantia**: 'intolerable haughtiness.'

14 9 **aestas**: A.D. 79. The scene of the activities of this and the following summer is entirely uncertain. See Introd. p. xiv. Agricola was in a general way working northward, but whether his route lay along the western or the eastern side of the island cannot be determined. In the summer of 78 he had been engaged with the Ordovices. In the lack of any statement as to a change of base it would be natural to suppose that he wintered at Deva (Chester), and continued his work northward along the west coast in 79. Additional probability is given to this view by the fact that he was on the west coast in the summer of 82 (ch. 24), after fortifying the Clota — Bodotria line. On the other hand, Eburacum (York) is known to have been the usual starting point for the north, at least as early as the period of the Antonines, and Roman remains dating from the time of Agricola have been found at several points along this route. Whichever route he took, it is likely, though it cannot be proved, that at some time in these years he overran the 'lower isthmus,' across which, from the Solway to the English Tyne, the great stone 'Wall of Hadrian' with its attendant forts and camps, was afterward built. Whether or not these camps, some of which are

thought to date from an earlier period than the wall, owe the choice of their sites to Agricola, their locations in many cases suit strikingly the descriptions in this chapter (*tanta ratione curaque*, etc.) and ch. 22 (*opportunitates locorum*, etc.). — **multus in agmine:** this refers to his all-pervading personality; it may be rendered 'ever present,' etc.

14 10 **modestiam:** 'good discipline'; **disiectos:** 'stragglers.'

14 11 **praetemptare:** i.e., in order to find a passage.

14 12 **quo minus,** etc.: the idea of hindrance is contained in *quietum pati;* leaving them in quiet would prevent him from making incursions.

14 14 **incitamenta:** cf. *Germ.* 7: *praecipuum fortitudinis incitamentum.*

14 15 **ex aequo:** i.e., 'independent.'

CHAPTER XXI

It should be noticed that the development of civilization under Agricola as described in this chapter belongs rather to the whole period of his command than to any one year. The general truthfulness of the account is attested by the abundance of Roman remains in England which date from about this period, and the paucity of remains of earlier date, although so far no inscription of any kind has come to light which actually proves Agricola's presence in any definite place.

The remains seem also to show that the Romanization of Britain was quite as thorough in the southern parts of the province as Tacitus implies, but that the occupation north of Eburacum (York) was almost purely military.

14 22 **publice:** *ex aerario.* — **ut templa,** etc.: wherever the Romans set their foot, they left memorials of their rule in the form of noble public buildings. Of their temples, that to Claudius at Camulodunum is the only one known to have been built before this date (*Ann.* 14, 31). Remains of comparatively few temples of any period have been found in Britain. Among these are one at Bath, four at Silchester (see below), and two at Caerwent. See Ashby, *Archaeologia*, vol. 62, part 1, p. 4. — **fora:** remains of these, belonging to various periods, have been found in the ruins of Roman towns and camps in Britain. That at Chesters (the Roman camp of *Cilurnum* on the English north Tyne) is among those the ruins of which are still to be seen. This camp, though its extant remains are later, has been reasonably conjectured to occupy the site of one of those established by Agricola, while the forum of Calleva (Silchester near Reading in Berkshire), like the rest of the town, probably dates from just about the period of Agricola. — **domos:** Haverfield notes that the Roman houses in Britain and in North Gaul differed from those on the continent gen-

erally in looking outward instead of inward, being probably an adaptation of a Celtic type. Silchester again has furnished interesting remains in illustration of this statement.

14 24 **honoris aemulatio,** etc: rivalry for honor took the place of compulsion.

14 25 **ingenia,** etc.: i.e., that the Britons could accomplish more by natural genius than the Gauls by diligence.

14 26 **anteferre:** 'showed preference for,' in order to encourage the Britons.

14 27 **eloquentiam concupiscerent:** this statement is not so much overdrawn as might appear. The prevalence of the Latin language in Britain is attested by numerous inscriptions which point to its use even by the common people, and by the entire dearth of Celtic inscriptions belonging to this period. See Haverfield, l. c. p. 24.

14 28 **toga:** the toga was the distinctive dress of a Roman citizen; it was like the adoption of European dress by the Japanese.

14 29 **discessum:** they all left their old ways, but turned in different directions as different sorts of vice attracted them. — **porticus:** these structures, attached to many of the public buildings, theatres, baths, etc., afforded the Romans, particularly in the period of the Empire, agreeable places both for legitimate recreation and for the cultivation of idleness, and played a very important part in their daily life.

14 30 **balinea:** the most famous of these are the hot water baths (fed by natural springs) which have given its name to the city of Bath in Somersetshire. These baths covered about an acre of ground and furnished opportunity not only for bathing in the medicinal waters, but also, unlike any other Roman baths yet discovered, for drinking the waters. The town of Bath, like Silchester, is believed, on the evidence of inscriptions, to date from about this period.

14 31 **humanitas:** 'civilization.'

CHAPTER XXII

15 1 **Tertius . . . annus:** that is, A.D. 80.

15 2 **Tanaum:** it is not known where this was. It may have been the Scotch Tyne, just north of Dunbar, the only estuary of any size on the Scottish east coast south of the Forth. This would not be impossible even if the earlier part of the march had been along the west coast, though in that case most would assume the Solway (Ἰτοῦνα, Ptol. 2, 3, 2) or some unidentified estuary on that coast.

It would be tempting in view of what is said later in this chapter

(*opportunitates locorum*, etc.; see on *aestas*, ch. 20, 9) to identify this estuary, if the meaning of the word could be somewhat forced, with the mouth of the English Tyne. The next chapter, to be sure, implies progress considerably farther north, but the verb *percucurrerat* might refer to no more permanent advance than is indicated in *crebrae eruptiones*, line 9.

15 3 **quamquam:** belongs with *conflictatum:* see on *quamquam incuriosa*, ch. 1, 2.

15 9 **crebrae eruptiones** (from the fortresses): there is an ellipsis here. Frequent sallies might, by rousing the enemy to action, lead to a close investment of the stronghold. This contingency they dared to face, for they had supplies sufficient to last a year.

15 10 **annuis copiis:** 'supplies for a year.'

15 11 **quisque:** i.e., commander of a post. — **inritis:** 'baffled.'

15 13 **pensare:** 'balance.'

15 15 **intercepit:** i.e., take the credit of. — **centurio:** a legionary officer. — **praefectus:** a commander of auxiliaries or cavalry.

15 17 **ut erat comis . . . ita iniucundus:** 'as he was affable toward the good, in like degree he was harsh toward the wicked.' This confirms to a certain degree the charge implied in *apud . . . narrabatur*, but puts it in the most favorable light possible by qualifying it with the words, *ceterum ex iracundia nihil supererat secretum*, in which respect Agricola's disposition was a contrast to that of Domitian. Cf. ch. 42.

15 19 **secretum:** 'hidden grudge.'

CHAPTER XXIII

15 21 **Quarta aestas:** A.D. 81.

15 23 **Britannia:** Britain proper, excluding Caledonia. — **terminus,** sc. *imperii*.

15 24 **Clota et Bodotria:** 'Clyde and Forth.'

Across the isthmus between these friths, in the time of Antoninus Pius, a great wall of sods piled upon a foundation of masonry was built, fortified at intervals by walled camps, some of which without doubt occupied the sites originally fortified along this line by Agricola. Remains of this bulwark are still to be seen. See MacDonald: *The Roman Wall in Scotland*.

15 27 **propior:** the southern shore of the friths. — **sinus:** not 'bay,' but 'winding shore' enclosing the bay. So in *Germania*, ch. 1. — **aliam insulam:** the part of Scotland north of the friths of Forth and Clyde.

CHAPTER XXIV

15 29 **nave prima:** i.e., as soon as navigation opened, A.D. 82. — **transgressus:** i.e., from the southern shore of the Clota.

15 31 **eamque partem:** though *que* usually indicates a close connection between the two parts of a sentence, in which case Argyleshire would be indicated here, the probabilities of the case point rather to the coast of Galloway. This view of course implies a return march not noticed by Tacitus.

15 32 **in spem:** i.e., of future conquest.

16 3 **valentissimam imperii partem:** the three countries of Britain, Gaul, and Spain, which formed the praefecture of the *Galliae* in the organization of Constantine. It was really the most vigorous part of the empire. According to Tacitus's geographical notions (see ch. 10), Ireland formed a connecting link, *miscuerit*, between these.

16 4 **invicem:** used like an adjective, 'mutual,' as elsewhere in Tacitus (cf. *Germ.* 37), and in Livy.

16 5 **nostri maris:** the Mediterranean.

16 7 **differt:** singular, as applying to the general idea conveyed by the several subjects, and influenced by the number of the nearest, *cultus;* cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 3, 5: *cumque ad corporum sanationem multum ipsa corpora et natura valeat.*

16 10 **in occasionem:** he never appears, however, to have found the opportunity.

16 11 **ex eo:** i.e., Agricola. **debellari:** a poetic word used by Vergil and Livy.

CHAPTER XXV

16 15 **Ceterum:** the operations of this year, A.D. 83, were in the lowlands upon the eastern coast north of the Forth.

16 17 **infesta . . . itinera:** i.e., marches of the Caledonians (*hostilis exercitus*) dangerous to the Romans.

16 19 **primum:** this was apparently the first occasion when the *classis Britannica* took active part in any warfare, though its existence from the time of the conquest by Claudius may be accepted. It is mentioned *Hist.* 4, 79 (for the year 70 A.D.).

16 22 **mixti copiis et laetitia:** 'sharing rations and joining in merriment.'

16 23 **attollerent:** 'exalted,' with praise.

16 24 **profunda:** 'recesses.'

16 25 **adversa:** 'dangers.' — **hinc . . . hinc:** by the land and the naval forces respectively; *victus* belongs with both.

16 27 **tamquam**: 'on the ground that.' See on ch. 16, 16.

17 3 **specie prudentium**: 'under the show of prudence.' The Latin often uses an adjective where the English would prefer an abstract noun.

CHAPTER XXVI

17 8 **maxime invalidam**: two reasons are suggested as possible explanations of this weakness of the ninth legion. First, it had been almost destroyed under Suetonius Paulinus, A.D. 61 (cf. ch. 16 and *Ann.* 14, 32), and in spite of later reënforcement may not have fully regained its original strength. Second, Domitian may have taken a detachment from it, for service in the war against the Germans (see Furneaux).

17 10 **iter**: acc. after *edoctus*. With *doctus* the acc. of the thing is rare; with *edoctus* found first in Sallust, and several times in Tacitus.

17 11 **vestigiis**: ablative. This is a kind of adverbial ablative (of place) used in describing military operations. Cf. Livy, 6, 32, *exercitus prope vestigiis sequeretur*.

17 13 **ab universis**: the *velocissimi* had gone in advance, and now the legions, following up, raised a united shout, *universi*, and at the same time the gleaming of their standards was seen.

17 16 **erupere**: i.e., the soldiers of the ninth legion.

17 18 **utroque exercitu**: i.e., those in the camp, and those that brought aid. — **his . . . illis**: the rescuers . . . the rescued.

CHAPTER XXVII

17 24 **fremebant**: plural, with the collective noun *exercitus*, apparently the only case in Tacitus where this particular collective noun is subject of a plural verb, although other military terms, as *manus* and *vexillum*, are among those so used. — **illi**: relates to *ignavi specie prudentium*, ch. 25.

17 27 **uni**: i.e., the commander.

17 31 **sancirent**: 'confirm,' 'ratify.' This is the primitive meaning of the word: that of holiness, *sanctus*, is a secondary meaning.

17 32 **discessum**: i.e., the opposing armies. The campaign was at an end.

CHAPTER XXVIII

18 1 **Usiporum**: this nation, called by Caesar *Usipetes*, is placed by Tacitus (*Germ.* 32) on the right bank of the Rhine, in the neighborhood of Cologne. The body here mentioned had probably been captured

by Domitian, in his war against the Chatti, and were among those troops that were posted on the west coast, opposite Ireland (ch. 24).

18 4 **militibus**: sc. *legionariis*. — **manipulis**: three maniples, of two centuries each, made a cohort; ten cohorts, a legion.

18 5 **liburnicas**: swift galleys, called from the country, Liburnia, on the coast of Dalmatia, where they were first used by the pirates who infested that coast. They had only two banks of oars.

18 6 **uno remigante**: one (of these *gubernatores*) rowed among the oarsmen, perhaps incidentally directing them, two were killed. There was no skilled steersman at the helm in any of the boats, as is shown by the words below: *amissis per inscitiam regendi navibus*.

18 8 **ut miraculum praevehebantur**: they sailed around the north of Scotland, exciting amazement as they passed. — **ad aquandum**: sc. *egressi*.

18 9 **utilia**: food and other necessaries.

18 11 28 **eo . . . inopiae**: 'to that degree (thither) of want.'

18 13 **vescerentur**: the use of this verb with the acc. is archaistic. — **circumvecti**: probably from west to east, around the northern coast. Cassius Dio, 66, 20, 2, speaks of the same incident.

18 15 **primum a Suebis**, etc.: i.e., part by one and part by the others. The Frisians occupied the northern part of what is now the Kingdom of the Netherlands, and the adjoining coast of Germany. The Suebi lived for the most part in southern and central Germany; but they may have come to the sea on predatory expeditions by the Rhine and other rivers.

18 16 **fuere**: we should expect the subjunctive after a relative with indefinite antecedent; but this phrase seems to have acquired somewhat the force of an indefinite = *quosdam*: cf. Horace, *Od.*, 1, 1, 3: *sunt quos . . . iuvat*. — **in nostram ripam**: i.e., the left bank of the Rhine, which was in possession of the Romans.

18 17 **mutatione mentium**: i.e., by passing from hand to hand.

18 18 **casus**: 'adventure.'

CHAPTER XXIX

18 19 **Initio aestatis**: the seventh summer, 84 A.D. The events of chs. 25–28 fill the sixth summer.

18 21 **ambitiose**: 'with ostentatious self-control,' regarded as characteristic of the Stoics under like circumstances.

18 25 **ex Britannis**: it was unusual to employ auxiliary troops in their native countries. Thus (in later times) the garrisons of the stations along Hadrian's Wall in England represented a dozen or more

nationalities — Batavians, Spanish, Tungrians — while British soldiers were serving the Romans in other parts of the world.

18 27 **montem Graupium:** this passage has a curious story. The manuscript reading is that given here; but the earliest editions, by an error of the editor, read *Grampium*, and the Scotch antiquaries naturally busied themselves to find some hill with a modern name which might have been derived from this. There was none; therefore searching for some locality where the battle might naturally have been fought, they pitched upon the great mountain range north of Perth, and gave it the name *Grampian Mount*, which it has continued to bear to the present day. See Burton's *History of Scotland*, vol. I, p. 16. The name, however, is no older than the fifteenth century. As to the locality, it is plain from the expression *praemissa classe*, etc., that the scene of the battle was near the seashore. At any rate, it is far from likely that Agricola reached a point so far north as the Grampian Hills; and moreover the battle would not receive its name from a great range of mountains, but from some moderate hill which the enemy had invested, *quem hostis iam insederat.* Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, vol. I, p. 53) suggests Blairgowrie; Ramsay (l. c., p. 73), partly on account of Roman remains, the neighborhood of Delvine and Dunkeld. These are all fifteen miles or so north of Perth.

18 28 **pugnae prioris:** i.e., of the former year; ch. 26.

18 30 **legationibus et foederibus:** probably not hendiadys. The *foedera* followed as a result of the *legationes.*

19 1 **cruda ac viridis senectus:** this phrase is taken from Vergil, *Aen.* 6, 304: *iam senior, sed cruda deo viridisque senectus.*

19 2 **decora:** 'badges of honor.' Cf. *Hist.* 3, 10: *ut quemque notum et aliquo militari decore insignem aspexerat.*

19 4 **Calgacus:** mentioned nowhere else.

CHAPTER XXX

On this and the next four chapters see Introd. p. xii.

19 6 **causas belli:** see ch. 15.

19 7 **animus:** 'confidence.'

19 9 **nullae ultra terrae:** i.e., for refuge.

19 14 **in nostris manibus:** contrasted with those Britons by whom in the previous battles *certatum est.*

19 16 **servientium:** i.e., the Gauls, who were subject to Rome.

19 18 **terrarum ac libertatis extremos:** one of Tacitus' nervous expressions, 'the remotest on the earth, and the last refuge of free-

dom.' For the nationality of the Caledonians, see on *proximi Gallis*, ch. 11, 2.

19 19 **sinus famae:** this figure is taken from the *sinus* or pouch made by a fold in the toga, and is best explained as meaning the 'obscurity of their fame'; *recessus ac sinus* may be regarded as a kind of hendiadys, the obscurity of fame resulting from distance. Cf. ch. 31, *longinquitas ac secretum.* — **nunc terminus**, etc.: if the text is correct in the following three lines, the thought must shift quite illogically, owing perhaps to the excitement of the speaker, from one point of view to another.

19 20 **Atque omne**, etc.: the connection of these words with those preceding and following them, is perhaps this: 1. in regard to the actual conditions, of the Caledonians, their seclusion and remoteness (*sinus ac recessus*) has thus far kept them safe. This source of safety is gone (*terminus Britanniae patet*). 2. In regard to the conditions as viewed by the Romans. It is a general truth that everything unknown is held to be remarkable *omne ignotum pro magnifico est*, i.e., 'as long as we were unknown, we were dreaded by the Romans. But now that we are reached, this dread can no longer exist, for there is no other nation beyond us which can take our place in the minds of the Romans.'

19 21 **fluctus et saxa:** here the thought reverts to the condition of the Caledonians.

19 23 **effugeris:** potential subj.

19 24 **defuere terrae:** they have no more lands to conquer.

19 27 **omnium:** to be taken with *soli*. Cf. *Germ.* 45.

19 29 **imperium**, etc.: is to be joined with *appellant;* this sentence is a powerful example of Tacitus' sententious eloquence, as indeed is the whole speech of Calgacus. — **pacem appellant:** cf. Byron, *Bride of Abydos*, 2, 20:

He makes a solitude and calls it peace.

CHAPTER XXXI

19 31 **alibi:** this might mean elsewhere than in their immediate neighborhood, not outside of Britain, as in ch. 29, in which case they were probably scattered among those of other nationalities. More likely, however, the reference is to conscription for service in foreign countries. British auxiliaries were serving in Germany as early as 69 A.D. (*Hist.* 1, 70), while inscriptions indicate their presence in Pannonia in the time of Domitian. See on *ex Britannis*, ch. 29, 25.

20 1 **amicorum atque hospitum**: that is, in peace, in the organized province.

20 3 **annus**: used for the yearly produce; see *Germ.* 14.

20 4 **emuniendis**: 'constructing roads through.' The Roman military roads were constructed with such solidity that they were like a fortification, and the expression regularly used for making roads was *munire viam.* Remains of many Roman roads are to be seen in Britain to-day, and Roman inscriptions are still visible in several stone quarries in the neighborhood of Hadrian's Wall.

20 5 **mancipia**: this word, meaning originally a formal method of purchase, and then applied to the objects conveyed by this formality, was in later times used especially for slaves. — **semel**: 'only once.'

20 6 **ultro**: 'over and above,' 'in addition.'

20 7 **familia**: i.e., of slaves; a common use of the word.

20 10 **nobis**: i.e., as compared with the rest of the Britons; they are subdued for purposes of gain, we for destruction.

20 16 **Brigantes**: see ch. 16. Boudicca was queen of the *Iceni;* Calgacus, however, mentions the Brigantes of Northern Britain, probably as being better known to the Caledonians.

CHAPTER XXXII

20 27 **pudet dictu**: a very rare construction for *pudendum dictu* or *pudet dicere.* See A. & G. 510, N. 4; G. 436, N. 4; H. 635, 1.

20 28 **sanguinem commodent**: 'lend their life-blood.'

20 30 **Metus ac terror est**: 'in the place of affection there is the sense of fear and dread — a weak chain with which to bind the loyalty of a people.' The transition from the singulars *metus ac terror*, forming one idea, to the plural, *vincla*, is not impossible in view of the meaning of the word, which here would be practically the same, 'a means of attachment,' (cf. Livy, 2, 39, *externus timor, maximum concordiae vinculum*) whether in the singular or in the plural.

21 3 **alia**: i.e., some other than Rome. See on *auxilia*, ch. 35, 4.

21 4 **ignota omnia**: in apposition with *caelum*, etc.

21 8 **nostras manus**: i.e., they will desert to us.

21 10 **tamquam** = *quemadmodum.*

21 11 **ultra**: i.e., if we gain this victory.

21 12 **senum**: predicate. 'The colonies are composed of old men.' The only genuine colony in Britain at this time was Camulodunum. See on *coloniae*, ch. 5, 2. Verulamium was a *municipium*, Londinium probably only a prosperous trading town. *Coloniae* and *municipia* differed in their origin: colonies were founded by Rome, *municipia*

were native towns invested with Roman citizenship. There was at this period no practical difference between them, but the colonies stood higher in rank.

21 14 **Hic dux,** etc.: the contrast (*hic* and *ibi*) is between the Caledonians and the enemy, the leader and army whom they could trust, and the oppression and exactions which they must endure if they should lose. — **metalla:** labor in the mines was a common form of servitude. That lead mines in Southwestern England were worked at an early period after the invasion is proved by inscriptions on pigs of metal found there.

21 16 **in hoc campo est:** 'must be decided on this field.'

CHAPTER XXXIII

21 18 **moris,** sc. *est:* a genitive of possession.

21 19 **cantu:** the war-shout of all barbarous nations.

21 21 **simul . . . cum:** 'no sooner . . . than.' — **acies,** sc. *Britannorum:* the Romans were still in their entrenchments; see ch. 35.

21 23 **adhuc** = *insuper.* Cf. *adhuc,* ch. 29.

21 25 **auspiciis:** the auspices, without which no important enterprise was undertaken, were, in the Republic, taken by the magistrate, and were his auspices; they were now the auspices of the empire or the emperor. — **imperii Romani:** personified and regarded as in part responsible for these events. — **nostra:** Agricola, in spite of his usual modesty, is not afraid to put his own merits in the foreground when addressing the soldiers. Cf. below: *ergo egressi, ego veterum legatorum, vos priorum exercituum terminos.*

21 28 **rerum naturam:** 'Nature.'

21 29 **egressi:** agrees with *ego* and *vos.*

21 32 **subacta:** Agricola's conquests in Scotland, however, were probably soon abandoned. In certain forts along the Antonine Wall where excavations have brought to light remains of work both of Agricola's period and the later period a considerable period of desertion between the two seems to be indicated. See on *Clota,* 23, 24.

22 4 **vota virtusque in aperto,** etc.: 'the field is clear for (fulfilling) vows and (showing) valor.'

22 7 **in frontem:** 'as long as we are advancing.' — **fugientibus:** 'if we should retreat.'

22 9 **Neque enim,** etc.: that is, in case of retreat. The comparison is with the pursuing Caledonians.

22 11 **mihi decretum est:** 'my mind has been made up.'

CHAPTER XXXIV

22 16 **novae gentes:** i.e., the enemy. — **constitisset:** 'had made a stand against you.'

22 19 **proximo anno:** see ch. 26.

22 22 **penetrantibus,** sc. *nobis.*

22 26 **quod:** 'as to the fact that.'

22 27 **novissimae res,** etc.: the straits they are in.

22 29 **Transigite:** 'have done.' The word is a legal term used of settling a suit.

22 30 **quinquaginta annis:** this was really the forty-second year since Claudius began the conquest of Britain; see ch. 13.

CHAPTER XXXV

23 3 **discursum:** notice the distributive force of the prefix; they were gathered to listen to his address, and then ran apart.

23 4 **peditum:** appositional genitive, 'the auxiliary infantry.' — **auxilia:** we may infer that these were Gauls, Britons (ch. 32), Batavians, and Tungrians (ch. 36).

23 5 **firmarent:** formed a firm body, 'composed.'

23 6 **Legiones:** those which Agricola had at his disposal were the second *Augusta*, the ninth, the twentieth and probably the second *Adiutrix* (see on *legioni*, ch. 7, 11), but which of these took part in this particular battle is not known. — **ingens . . . decus:** in apposition with the whole preceding sentence, and explained by *citra Romanum sanguinem bellandi.*

23 7 **victoriae** = *si vincerent*, corresponding to *si pellerentur*, l. 18. — **citra Romanum sanguinem bellandi:** i.e., if Roman blood should not be shed. The brunt of the battle was thrown on the auxiliaries, and the legions, which were composed of Roman citizens, were held in reserve. *Bellandi*, as well as *victoriae*, limits *decus.*

23 8 **pellerentur,** sc. *auxilia.*

23 10 **in aequo:** 'on the level ground.'

23 11 **velut insurgerent:** 'rose ready to strike, as it were.' Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* 5, 443: *Ostendit dextram insurgens Entellus.* — **media campi:** i.e., between the front lines of the two armies. — **covinnarius:** these were the war-chariots, described by Caesar (*B. G.* 4, 24) as *essedarii.* The word *et* is not found in the manuscripts (and is not adopted by most editors, see on *equitum turmae*, ch. 36, 2), but seems necessary, as Caesar constantly distinguishes the war-chariots from the cavalry of the Britons (see *B. G.* 5, 15).

23 15 **porrectior:** 'too extended.' — **futura erat:** 'would be'; i.e., as a result of this action.

23 17 **ante vexilla:** see on *vexillis*, ch. 18, 25. Agricola stood on foot in front of the standards of the auxiliaries.

CHAPTER XXXVI

23 23 **Batavorum,** etc.: these tribes lived in the Roman province of Lower Germany, the Batavians at the mouth of the Rhine, the Tungri in Belgium (Tongern).

23 24 **duas,** sc. *cohortes.*

23 25 **quod:** i.e., this style of fighting.

23 28 **in arto:** 'at close quarters.'

23 30 **foedare:** *fodere* is a common word for wounding, especially stabbing. But here not only sharp weapons were used, but also the bosses of shields (*ferire umbonibus*), the effect of which upon the face would be well expressed by *foedare*, as the effect of blows is expressed in *Hist.* 3, 77, *verberibus foedatus*. Moreover, if *miscere ictus* is used of sharp weapons, a good parallel is found in Vergil, *Aen.* 3, 241: *ferro foedare volucres*, and in Ennius, *ferro foedati iacent*, quoted by Servius *ad loc.* — **qui in aequo adstiterant:** *qui* relates to *iis* understood, used absolutely with *stratis;* these were the *primum agmen* (ch. 35).

23 31 **ceterae cohortes:** i.e., of the auxiliaries. Tacitus regularly uses this term for auxiliary troops in contrast with the Roman legionaries.

24 2 **equitum turmae:** *turma* is the term regularly used for a division of Roman cavalry. It is used also, however, as a general term for the cavalry of other nations, and is to be understood here of the Caledonians. Agricola's cavalry, consisting of auxiliaries, is spoken of in the next chapter as *alae*, the regular expression for auxiliary cavalry.

Most editors supply *ut* between *turmae* and *fugere*, and punctuate as follows: *interim equitum turmae, ut fugere covinnarii, peditum se proelio miscuere*, generally understanding *equitum turmae* as Roman cavalry. In this case it is to be understood that the Britons had no regular cavalry, and it is not necessary to supply *et* in ch. 35 between *eques* and *covinnarius*. For the text here retained see W. F. Allen, *The Battle of Mons Graupius, Transact. Am. Phil. Assn. 1880.*

24 3 **recentem terrorem,** etc.: the war-chariots at first caused some confusion among the assaulting party (the Romans), but soon became useless on the hilly ground, and mixed in with the thick ranks of their own countrymen; *hostium* must, from Tacitus' point of view, be the Caledonians.

24 5 **minimeque equestris:** the ground not being suited to horses, this

battle of the war-chariots, which would properly be ranked with cavalry engagements, became *minime equestris*. The same expression, *minime equestris more pugnae*, is used by Livy (22, 47) with reference to the battle of Cannae, where, as here, the horse became useless from the closeness of the action and the nature of the ground.

24 6 **aegre clivo adstantes**: this appears to refer to the Caledonians; while the following indicative clause, *ac saepe . . . incursabant*, describes both parties. It is evident, from the following chapter, *circumire terga vincentium*, that the Romans were successful so far, and were making their way triumphantly up the hill. The events of the battle had been as follows: first, the skirmishing *eminus;* next, the assault made by the Batavians and Tungrians; third, the joining of the war-chariots in the battle, after the cavalry had been routed (*Interim . . . haerebant*). Then follows a description of the mixed nature of the battle (*minimeque . . . impellerentur*), and the confusion caused by the frightened horses (*ac saepe . . . incursabant*).

CHAPTER XXXVII

24 10 **qui adhuc**: this clause is restrictive, 'those Britons who,' etc.

24 12 **vacui,** sc. *cura*.

24 14 **equitum alas**: the auxiliary cavalry were always divided into *alae:* these stood, as has been seen, in Agricola's front line.

24 18 **a fronte,** etc.: i.e., the *alae equitum*, having repulsed the Britons who were taking the Romans in the rear, were now transferred from the direct front, and came around by a circuit upon the backs of the enemy, *aversam aciem invasere;* in this way the strategy of the Britons was turned against themselves, *consilium in ipsos versum*.

24 21 **oblatis aliis**: after taking prisoners, *capere*, they fell in with others of the enemy, and, not being able to keep both in security, slaughtered the first. — **hostium**: limits *catervae* and *quidam*. — **prout,** etc.: according to the disposition of each, fearful or fearless.

24 22 **armatorum** is contrasted with *inermes*, *catervae* with *pauciori-bus*.

24 28 **frequens ubique**: 'everywhere present.' — **validas,** etc.: fresh cohorts, probably of auxiliaries.

24 29 **indaginis modo**: the method of hunting by surrounding the woods with dogs, nets, etc.; a figure frequently used by the historians. — **artiora,** sc. *loca:* it is contrasted with *rariores silvas*, through which he sent the mounted cavalry.

24 30 **dimissis equis**: ablative absolute.

24 31 **persultare:** there is a kind of zeugma here. The word strictly applies only to the cavalry. For the verb cf. *Ann.* 12, 40: *Silures id quoque damnum intulerant lateque persultabant.*

24 32 **compositos,** etc.: this refers to the fresh cohorts. As they marched up in good order the enemy fled, so that it was no longer necessary to carry out the orders just given.

25 3 **invicem:** 'one another.'

25 6 **praefectus cohortis:** i.e., of auxiliaries. The legionary cohort was commanded by the senior centurion of the three maniples which composed it, called *pilus prior.*

25 7 **ferocia:** 'unmanageableness.'

CHAPTER XXXVIII

25 13 **separare,** sc. *consilia.* — **pignorum:** *pledges* of affection, wives and children.

25 15 **saevisse in** = *occidisse.* — **tamquam misererentur:** see on ch. 16, 16.

25 17 **secreti:** 'deserted,' 'lonely.' There seems to be no exact parallel for *secreti* with this meaning, but *secreto lacu, Germ.* 40, approaches it, and also Auson. *Mosella,* 180:

cum praebuit horas
secretas hominum coetu flagrantior aestus.

25 21 **spargi:** 'protracted.' — **Borestorum:** mentioned only here.

25 25 **lento itinere:** 'after a slow march.'

25 28 **unde** qualifies *lecto.* The situation of this port is uncertain, but it was probably on the Frith of Forth, the point from which they had started. The fleet appears to have coasted the whole eastern shore, and then returned, not circumnavigating the island, but sailing far enough to see Thule, and no farther, *quia hactenus iussum ac hiems adpetebat.* This is the voyage of discovery referred to in ch. 10.

CHAPTER XXXIX

25 31 **epistulis:** plural on the analogy of *litteris,* as often in Tacitus. Only one despatch is referred to. — **ut Domitiano,** etc.: compare *ut barbaris moris,* ch. 33, 18.

26 1 **falsum . . . triumphum:** Suetonius, a nearly contemporary writer, says (*Dom.* 7) that he fought a few battles, *varia proelia;* Cassius Dio, more than a century later, that he did not even see the enemy. No doubt it was a trifling campaign; nevertheless, it must have been a real one. We must remember that Tacitus was embittered against

Domitian by his tyranny, and in especial by his subsequent treatment of his father-in-law. See Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, vol. 7, p. 82. This barren expedition of the emperor was in the same year (A.D. 84) as Agricola's brilliant victory.

26 7 **studia fori,** etc.: see ch. 2. As usual, *forum* refers to the bar, while by *civiles artes* is meant the practice of politics, especially in the senate.

26 9 **imperatoriam virtutem:** 'the proper excellence of an emperor.' He remembered, no doubt, that his own father, Vespasian, had been a mere governor of a province, and had been made emperor by his soldiers after exploits noways so brilliant as those of Agricola.

26 11 **secreto suo satiatus:** 'satisfied (for the present) with his customary secret brooding.'

26 13 **nam etiam tum,** etc.: he must at any rate remove him from his governorship and thus make him impotent.

CHAPTER XL

26 15 **triumphalia ornamenta:** *ornamenta* are the distinguishing insignia of some office or dignity, granted by the senate, as a special privilege to be borne upon state occasions by persons who have not held the office or dignity itself. As, under the empire, the honor of a triumph was restricted to the emperor, private citizens could only have the *ornamenta triumphalia* — the *toga picta*, *tunica palmata*, laurel crown, and gilded throne, with the right to the title *triumphalis*. Not even all of these seem to have been commonly bestowed outside the royal family (Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, vol. 1, pp. 465; 438; and 411).

26 20 **maioribus:** Syria was an imperial province of the first rank, governed by a *legatus consularis*, in this ranking with Britain and a number of others; but it ranked as the most important province in a military point of view, being on the frontier opposed to the great rival empire of Parthia. — **Credidere plerique:** 'it was generally believed.' — **libertum:** freed slaves still continued in the service of their former masters, and in close personal relation to them, like that of client to patron. Emperors of the type of Nero and Domitian made use of their freedmen, cunning and unscrupulous fellows, as agents in all confidential affairs; and some of these freedmen rose to great wealth and influence.

26 21 **ministeriis:** abstract for concrete *ministris*.

26 22 **dabatur:** as a bribe, in case he showed reluctance in complying with the command.

26 23 **si in Britannia foret:** if he had already left Britain, this bribe was not needed to remove him out of range of the *favor militum.*

26 24 **freto Oceani:** the English Channel.

26 26 **ex ingenio principis:** 'to suit the character of the prince'; construed with *fictum*, etc.

26 27 **successori:** it is not certain who this was, but it may have been Sallustius Lucullus, who, according to Suetonius (*Dom.* 10), was *legatus* in Britain under Domitian and was condemned to death by him for his arrogance in allowing a new kind of spear to be named for himself.

26 28 **celebritate:** this word does not seem to be used in its primitive sense, which is nearly synonymous with *frequentia*, but in the less common, although perfectly classical, meaning of 'distinction.'

26 30 **palatium:** the hill of Rome upon which the earliest city was built. This hill was selected by Augustus for his residence and his successors built splendid houses upon it. The name was then gradually transferred from the hill to the edifice, in which sense it has passed into the modern languages as *palace.*

27 1 **grave inter otiosos:** 'a source of apprehension in time of peace.'

27 3 **hausit:** cf. *Hist.* 4, 5: *libertatem hausit.*

27 6 **quaererent famam:** 'asked what made him so famous.'— **interpretarentur:** does not refer to answers to the questions, but to other strangers. Most asked, few understood without asking; the object is *eum* understood.

CHAPTER XLI

27 11 **laudantes,** not *laudatores*, which would mean persons who made this a practice; the participle is strictly temporal, 'those who praise one.' This praise is sometimes understood as ironical, of secret enemies; it is better to understand it of the inopportune, although sincere, praise of injudicious friends; see *optimus quisque libertorum* below.

27 13 **tot exercitus:** at several times in Domitian's reign there were disturbances along the frontier on the lower Danube and Rhine. The defeat of the *legatus* Oppius Sabinus, in Moesia, A.D. 85, of the *praefectus praetorius*, Cornelius Fuscus, in Dacia, the next year, of Domitian himself by the German Marcomani in 89, and the destruction of a legion in Pannonia in 92, are probably the disasters here alluded to. See Cassius Dio, 67, 7; 10; Suet. *Dom.* 6. The Dacians were not finally subdued till the reign of Trajan.

27 16 **limite:** this word properly means a path left as a boundary

between two estates; from this there is a natural transition to a boundary line. Under the empire it is used for a fortified frontier. The reference here is probably to the line of defences that ran between the upper Rhine and Danube (see on *Germ.* 29, *Decumates agros*), part of which Domitian is thought to have laid out. — **ripa:** no doubt from what goes before, the banks of both Rhine and Danube were meant; the special reference is, however, to the Danube, where the Goths afterward invaded the Roman provinces.

27 17 **possessione,** sc. *provinciarum.* — **damnis:** dative.

27 18 **omnis annus:** 'every year.'

27 23 **optimus quisque:** these were the *laudantes* referred to above.

27 25 **deterioribus:** neuter. — **Sic . . . agebatur:** there is no implication here that 'Agricola's glory was his doom.' It is merely the conclusion of the comparison (*σύγκρισις*) beginning ch. 41, *et ea*, between the energy of Agricola, and the inefficiency of Domitian and his generals. 'Thus Agricola not only by his own virtues, but also by contrast with the weakness and inefficiency of others, was hurried to the very pinnacle of fame.' Cf. Cic. *de imp. Pomp.* 67 (at the conclusion of a similar comparison): *quasi vero Cn. Pompeium non cum suis virtutibus, tum etiam alienis vitiis magnum esse videamus.* This sort of comparison is a conspicuous feature of the ancient encomium in general.

CHAPTER XLII

27 28 **proconsulatum Africae et Asiae:** In his previous commands, Aquitania and Britannia, Agricola had acted simply as *legatus* or deputy of the emperor, in administering provinces of which the emperor himself was in theory governor; it was now his time to become himself the governor, *proconsul*, of a senatorial province (see on ch. 7, 13). This office, in which the governor had, in theory, independent power, was superior in dignity to that of the imperial provinces, in which the governor was only a deputy; but it was inferior in effective power, because he exercised only civil authority and held the office for only one year, while the *legatus* seldom staid in his province less than three years, often much longer. It was bestowed, as in the republic, on men who had held magistracies; Asia and Africa alone to those who had been consuls; the other nine to past praetors. But, whereas in the republic they were given to the magistrates immediately upon leaving their office, under the empire there must be an interval of some years, at this period generally thirteen years. (Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, vol. 1, p. 546.) Agricola was consul A.D. 77; and the thir-

teenth year after this would be 90, which was probably the year of the events narrated in this chapter.

27 29 **Civica**: he was proconsul of Asia, and was put to death by Domitian on a charge of treason. His fate might serve to Agricola as a warning, *consilium*, and to the tyrant as a precedent, *exemplum*.

27 32 **ultro**: i.e., without any pretext.

28 1 **laudare**: i.e., the emissaries of Domitian.

28 4 **paratus**: 'well equipped with hypocrisy' which helped him to assume the arrogance (*in adrogantiam compositum*) that his shameless deeds might have made difficult.

28 7 **proconsuli consulari**: 'a proconsul of consular rank,' as those of Asia and Africa; see note above on p. 27, 28. From Dio. 78, 22, 5, we learn that the amount of the *salarium* of the consular proconsul in the year 217 A.D. was one million sesterces, equal to about $50,000.

28 11 **Proprium**, etc.: the same thought appears in Thucydides, 3, 40; Seneca, *de ira*, 3, 29: *pertinaciores nos facit iniquitas irae;* Dryden, *Conquest of Granada*, 2, 1, 2:

> Forgiveness to the injured does belong,
> But they ne'er pardon who have done the wrong.

28 13 **inrevocabilior**: sc. *ab ira*.

28 16 **inlicita**: i.e., revolutionary acts.

28 19 **excedere**: Cf. Val. Max. 5, 6, 4: *res publica . . . ad summum imperii fastigium excessit.* — **per abrupta sed**, etc.: i.e., such violent or offensive acts as could do no good, except to exhibit their own spirit of resistance.

CHAPTER XLIII

28 21 **nobis**: i.e., his family.

28 23 **aliud agens**: attending to something else, 'indifferent.'

28 24 **circulos**: 'social circles,' in public (*per fora*) and private.

28 27 **nihil comperti**: sc. *esse*, 'I dare affirm so much, but no more.' The negative which would naturally go with *ausim* is carelessly put in the substantive clause.

28 30 **medicorum intimi**: there is generally thought to be here an insinuation that he was poisoned.

28 31 **momenta**: 'changes.' Cf. Cic. *Agr.* 2, 29, 80: *cetera . . . populi Romani vectigalia perlevi saepe momento fortunae, inclinatione temporis pendere.* The original meaning is the vacillating movement of a balance.

28 32 **per dispositos cursores**: Domitian was probably at some distance from the city, perhaps at his Alban villa, see ch. 45.

29 2 **prae se tulit**: 'manifested.' — **securus iam odii**: i.e., freed

now from concern for the hatred that he had inspired by his attitude toward Agricola. Domitian could not conceal his fear of Agricola living; his joy at his death he found it easier to hide.

29 4 **coheredem:** i.e., probably *ex dimidia parte*, that is, a share equal to that of both the others.

29 6 **honore iudicioque:** hendiadys for *honore iudicii*. *Iudicium* is a technical term for the judgment which animates a bequest and so for the bequest itself. The same combination of words, with the same meaning, is found *C. I. L.* VI, 10230: *ut ius dotis honore iudicii augeretur*.

29 8 **nisi malum principem:** i.e., in the fear that the bad ruler would declare the will invalid, and seize the whole, he bought him off by the bequest of half his fortune.

CHAPTER XLIV

29 10 **Gaio Caesare:** this was the emperor Caligula; his third consulship was A.D. 40, that of Conlega and Priscus was A.D. 93.

29 14 **nihil impetus:** no 'strenuousness' was evident in his face, but *gratia*, 'graciousness,' almost the opposite, was there. For a similar meaning of *impetus*, cf. *Ann.* 13, 54: *quasi impetus antiqui et bona aemulatione*.

29 18 **quantum ad gloriam,** sc. *attinet*.

29 19 **vera bona:** this is the doctrine of the Stoics, to whom *virtus* was the only good.

29 21 **Opibus nimiis non gaudebat, speciosae non contigerant:** he did not care for too great wealth, and conspicuous wealth had not fallen to his lot.

29 22 **Filia atque uxore:** two reasons are assigned for Agricola's seeming blessed. The first is hinted in the words *filia atque uxore superstitibus;* the second is expressed in *futura effugisse*, etc. 1. He may seem blessed, in having died while his wife and daughter were still living. 2. He may seem blessed in having escaped the future while his dignity was unimpaired.

29 24 **incolumi dignitate:** see in the next chapter, the indignities which followed soon after his death.

29 27 **augurio votisque:** these words describe his sagacity in foreseeing the coming man, and the earnestness of his desires.

CHAPTER XLV

29 32 **obsessam curiam:** this fact is not known from any other source. Domitian may have repeated Nero's act at the trial of Thrasea

(*Ann.* 16, 27), or Tacitus may have added this to Domitian's crimes for rhetorical effect.

30 1 **eadem strage**: i.e., with one another.

30 2 **tot consularium**: Suet. *Dom.* 10, names twelve men put to death by Domitian, most of them *levissima de causa*. Of these nine were ex-consuls, among others Civica Cerealis, whose untimely death had served as a warning to Agricola (ch. 42). — **tot nobilissimarum feminarum**: of these we know, through Pliny, *Ep.* 3, 11, 3, Arria, widow of Thrasea; Fannia, her daughter, wife of Helvidius; Gratilla, wife of Arulenus Rusticus, the eulogist of the elder Helvidius (see ch. 2).

30 3 **Carus Metius**: Metius, Messalinus, and Baebius were notorious *delatores* or informers under Domitian. — **censebatur** = *aestimabatur*, a post-Augustan meaning. Cf. *Dial.* 3: *eius modi libri exstant ut ipsi quoque qui egerunt non aliis magis orationibus censeantur.* — **intra Albanam arcem**: i.e., in a villa of Domitian, situated among the Alban Hills, where he often summoned the Senate.

30 5 **etiam tum**: i.e., even as late as the time of Agricola's death. Afterwards, although condemned, he escaped punishment, and resumed his nefarious activities.

30 6 **nostrae . . . manus** = *nos senatores*. — **Helvidium**: this was a son of Helvidius Priscus, mentioned in ch. 2.

30 7 **Maurici Rusticique**: these were two brothers belonging to the Junian gens. — **visus**: by zeugma subject of *perfudit* (= *perculit*). **Senecio**: see ch. 2.

30 11 **subscriberentur**: 'recorded as a basis for accusation.' Cf. *Ann.* 6, 10, of Tiberius' reign, *ob lacrimas incusabantur*.

30 12 **sufficeret**: 'stood him in good stead,' 'fortified him,' as shown by *quo se . . . muniebat*.

30 18 **eius**: Tacitus passes here from address to narration.

30 24 **ante quadriennium**: Tacitus was praetor A.D. 88, and appears to have left Rome the next year for some office in a province. He returned to Rome shortly after the death of Agricola. — **Omnia . . . superfuere honori tuo**: 'all evidence of respect were thine in overflowing measure.'

CHAPTER XLVI

This chapter is an excellent illustration of the quality of style attributed to Tacitus by Pliny the younger (*Ep.* 2, 11, 17): *respondit Cornelius Tacitus eloquentissime et, quod eximium orationi eius inest, σεμνῶς.* See Introd. p. viii.

30 31 **domum tuam**: 'thy household': in apposition with *nos*.

31 7 **formamque ac figuram**: 'mould and quality.'

31 2 **ploratibus laudemus:** the manuscripts here offer impossible readings (see Appendix). The conjecture embodied in the text is at least in harmony with the thought of the preceding sentence and the passage in general.

31 16 **in fama rerum:** history which is (*Ann.* 4, 35) *sequentis aevi memoriam.* (Wex.)

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APPENDIX TO THE AGRICOLA

Chief deviations from the text of the old edition and of Halm.
A = Vat. 3429; B = Vat. 4498; E = Aesinus; T = Toletanus; Fur. = Furneaux's edition; Gud. = Gudeman's edition.

Chapter	New Edition	Old Edition	Halm's Edition
3	et ABET (see Fur).	et	set (Bip.)
4	pater illi Iulius; pater Iulii A; pater Iuli BET	pater Iulius	pater illi Iulius (Wölfflin)
	prima in iuventa AET; prima iuventa B	in prima iuventa	prima in iuventa
5	intersepti ABET	intersepti	intercepti (Puteol.)
	recuperatae ABET	recuperatae	reciperatae
6	degressus AET	digressus A marg. B	digressus
	proconsulem AET; procōs B	proconsulem	pro consule
	proconsul AET; procōs B	proconsul	pro consule
	fecit ABET (see Fur.)	fecit	effecit (Heinsius)
7	Intimilium; in templo ABET	Intemelios	Intimilium (Mommsen)
9	nihil ultra: potestatis personam, etc. (Urlichs); nullam ultra potestatis personam AB; nullam ultra potestatis persona ET	nulla ultra potestatis persona	nulla ultra potestatis persona (Rhenanus)
	ipsius ET	suis AB	suis
	eligit ET	elegit AB	elegit
10	et in universum BET; et universum A	et in universum	et in universam (Schele)

Chapter	New Edition	Old Edition	Halm's Edition
11	persuasiones (see Fur., and Gud.CR 11,326)	persuasiones	persuasione ABET
	detrectandis AET;	detractandis B	detrectandis
12	trahuntur ABET	trahuntur	distrahuntur (Heinsius)
13	dilectum E	delectum ABT	dilectum (Rigler)
	velox ingenio mobili paenitentiae AET; velox ingenii mobilis paenitentiae B	velox ingenio mobilis paenitentiae	velox ingenio mobili paenitentiae
	auctor operis T (see Leuze, Phil. Supp. 8, p. 525); autoritate operis AB; auctoritate operis E	auctor iterati operis	auctor iterati operis (Wex)
14	ut vetere . . . haberet ABET	ut vetere . . . haberet	vetere . . . ut haberet (Rhenanus)
15	impetus felicibus, maiorem ET	impetus, maiorem AB	impetus *integris*, maiorem (Acidalius)
16	Boudicca; Voadicca A; Voaduca B; vo adicca ET	Boadicea	Boudicca (Haase)
	proprius ET	propius AB	propius
	salutem *esset*	salutem et ABET	salutem esset
17	recuperavit ABET	recuperavit	reciperavit
	subiit sustinuitque E^2T; sustinuitque AE; substinuitque B	*subiit* sustinuitque;	sustinuit [que]
18	cuius ABET	cuius	*a* cuius (Bip.)
	subitis ET	dubiis AB	subitis (J. F. Gronov.)
19	militesve ascire; milites nescire ABET	milites ascire	militesve ascire (Wex)
	luere ET	ludere AB	†ludere
	proximis ABET	proximis	*pro* proximis (Frölich)
20	incitamenta A^2	irritamenta ABET	invitamenta (Acidalius)

Chapter	New Edition	Old Edition	Halm's Edition
	nova pars. 21. Inlacessita transiit (Susius); nova pars inlacessita transierit ABET	nova pars *pariter* illacessita transierit	nova pars pariter (Weissenborn) illacessita transierit
21	in bella	in bello ABET	in bella (Bosius)
	discessum ABET	discessum	descensum (Pichena)
22	nullum . . . desertum; crebrae eruptiones, nam ABET	nullum . . . desertum; crebrae eruptiones, nam	nullum . . . desertum; nam . . . hiems, crebrae eruptiones
	ut erat ABET	ut erat	et erat ut (Henrichsen)
24	differt [in melius]	differt in melius ABET	differunt (Rhenanus): *interiora parum*, melius
	debellari ABE; T?	debellari	ebellari
25	hostilis exercitus ABET; hostili exercitu E marg.	hostilis exercitus	hostibus exercitus (Bekker)
27	se victos ET; *om.* AB	*se victos*	*se* (Brotier) . . . *victos*
28	remigante ABET	remigante	renavigante (Mützell)
	ad aquandum atque utilia raptum egressi et cum plerisque Britannorum; ad aquam atque ut illa raptis secum plerisque Britannorum ABET	ad aquam atque utilia rapientes cum plerisque Britannorum	ad aquandum atque utilia (Selling) raptum egressi et cum plerisque Britannorum
30	nec ulla servientium ET	nec servientium AB	nec servientium
	patet. Atque omne . . . Sed ABE; *om.* omne T	patet. Atque omne . . . Sed	Atque omne . . . : sed . patet (Brueys)
31	in libertatem non in paenitentiam arma laturi (Wex); *om.* arma ABET	libertatem non in paenitentiam laturi	in libertatem non in patientiam bellaturi (Wölfflin)

Chapter	New Edition	Old Edition	Halm's Edition
32	nisi si ABET	nisi	nisi si
	metus ac terror est ABE; terror ac metus est T	metus ac terror est	metus ac terror sunt (Beroaldus)
33.	septimus	octavus ABET	septimus (Acidalius)
	virtute et . . . nostra ABET (see Gud.)	virtute et . . . vestra	virtute vestra . . . nostra (Nipperdey)
34	torpor	corpora ABET	torpor (Ritter)
35	bellandi ABET	bellandi	bellanti (Rhenanus)
	agmen in aequo; agmine quo ABT; agminaequo E	agmen aequo;	agmen in aequo (Bekker)
	covinnarius *et* eques	covinnarius *et* eques (Rhenanus)	covinnarius eques ABET
36	quattuor Batavorum cohortes ET (see Leuze, Phil. Supp. 8, p. 529)	Batavorum cohortes AB	Batavorum cohortes
	foedare ABET	foedare	fodere (Gesner)
	equitum turmae fugere covinnarii ABET	equitum turmae ugere covinnarii	equitum turmae *ut* fugere covinnarii (Döderlein)
	equestris ea iam; equestres, eá enim A; equestres ea enim BE; equestris ea. n. T	equestris ea iam (Haase)	aequa nostris iam (Anquetil)
	clivo adstantes; diu aut stante ABET	clivo astantes	clivo instantes (Schömann)
37	idem (Goebel); nam ET	identidem	†item B; ntem A
	persultare; persultari AET; perlustrari B	persultare (Rhenanus)	perscrutari (Cornelissen)
38	[aliqua]	aliqua ABET	[aliqua]
	secreti ABET	secreti	deserti (Ernesti)
	unde proximo ABET	unde proximo	unde proximo *anno* (Madvig)
	latere lecto AB; E marg.	latere lecto	litore lecto (Pichena)

Chapter	New Edition	Old Edition	Halm's Edition
	latere prelecto ET; A marg.; latere prelecta E		
	redierat ABET	redierat	reditura erat (Madvig)
39	cetera ET	et cetera AB	cetera (Wex)
40	hausit	auxit ABET	hausit (Wex)
41	ceterorum; eorum ABET	ceterorum	eorum *quibus exercitus committi solerent* (Grotius)
42	Africae et Asiae AET	Asiae et Africae B	Africae et Asiae
	proconsuli consulari; proconsulari ABE; proconsulari *or* e T	proconsuli consulari	proconsulare (Bletterius)
	excedere ABET	excedere	escendere (Lipsius)
43	adfirmare ausim ABET	adfirmare ausim	adfirmare *ut* ausim (Wex)
	animi vultu see Gud. C. R. 11,329	animo vultuque ABET	habitu vultuque (Ernesti)
44	quarto (see Fur.)	quarto	sexto ABET
	impetus (metus marg.) AET	metus et impetus B	metus AET marg.
	non contigerant AET; non contingerant B	contigerant AET marg.	contigerant (Rhenanus)
	sicuti ABET	sicuti	sicut ei (Dahl)
45	etiam tum ET	tum B	[iam]tum A;
46	quam ploratibus laudemus (see note *ad. loc.*); temporalibus laudibus AB; temporalibus et laudibus ET	quam temporalibus laudibus	et immortalibus laudibus (Acidalius)
	similitudine; militum AET; multum B	aemulatione (Orsini)	similitudine (Grotius)
	colamus; decoramus ABE; decoramus *or* decoremus T	decoremus	colamus (Muretus)
	in fama rerum	fama rerum ABET	*in* fama rerum

NOTES

TO THE GERMANIA

Argument

Chs. 1–27. Germany as a Whole.

1. Geography of Germany.
2–4. Its people.
5. The land and its products.
6–15. Public life.
    6. Military system.
    7–8. Religious and military institutions. Influence of women.
    9–10. Religion.
    11–12. The public assembly.
    13–15. The chiefs and their followers.
16–27. Private life.
    16. Dwellings.
    17. Dress.
    18–19. Marriage.
    20. Training of children. Inheritance.
    21. Blood feud. Hospitality.
    22–23. Eating and drinking.
    24. Games of chance.
    25. Slaves.
    26. Land occupation and agriculture.
    27. Funerals.

Chs. 28–46. Individual peoples of Germany.

28. Helvetii, Boii, Aravisci, Osi, Trevĕri, Nervii, Vangiŏnes, Tribŏci, Nemētes.
29. The Batāvi and Mattiăci. The Decumātes Agri.
30–31. The Chatti.
32. The Usīpi and Tenctēri.
33–34. The lesser tribes of the north — Bructĕri, Chamăvi, Angrivarii, Dulgubnii, Chasuarii, Frisii.
35. The Chauci.
36. The Cherusci and Fosi.
37. The Cimbri.

38–45. The Suebi.
38. General description of the Suebi.
39. The Semnŏnes.
40. The Langobardi, Anglii, etc.
41. The Hermundŭri.
42. The Naristi, Marcomăni and Quadi.
43. The Lugii and unimportant tribes (Marsigni, Cotĭni, Osi, Buri). The Gotōnes, Rugii, Lemovii.
44. The Suiŏnes.
45. The Aestii and Sitŏnes.
46. The peoples of the east — Peucini (Bastarnae), Venĕdi, Fenni. The Hellusii and Oxiŏnes.

CHAPTER I

NOTE. — In the grammatical references, A. & G. stands for *Allen and Greenough;* B. for *Bennett;* G. for *Gildersleeve-Lodge*, and H. for *Harkness*. Mhf. stands for Müllenhoff; SSS. for Schweizer-Sidler-Schwyzer (see Bibliography).

41 1 **Germania omnis,** 'Germany as a whole,' as in Caes. *B. G.* 1, 1, *Gallia omnis*. Here free Germany, the subject of Tacitus' treatise, is contrasted with the two Roman provinces of Upper and Lower Germany, which were upon the left bank of the Rhine, and therefore a part of Gaul proper, although separated from Gaul for the purposes of administration.

It will be noticed that Germany in the time of Tacitus extended farther to the east than at present, and not so far to the west and south. A few German tribes had got a foothold to the west of the Rhine, but this territory was mostly occupied by Celtic tribes. South of the Danube a large portion of Würtemberg, Bavaria, and Austria was also in the possession of Celts, who had even held territories north of the Danube, where the Celtic nation of the Boii have left their name to the country Bohemia (see ch. 28). The Germans, a conquering race, had thrust themselves into the narrow strip of land between the Rhine and the head-waters of the Danube, the modern Baden, and part of Würtemberg and Hesse Darmstadt which had been formerly occupied by the Helvetii; but even here the Germans had been pushed back by the Romans, who held this territory under the name Decumātes Agri (see ch. 29). On the other hand, it will be seen that in the east the Germans occupied a region which is now purely Slavonic.

Gallis Raetisque et Pannoniis: the conjunction *que* appears to be used to connect the Danubian provinces with Gaul. The Gauls, Raetians, and Pannonians were the three nationalities inhabiting this series of provinces; the names of nations therefore are put for the provinces. Noricum, lying between Raetia and Pannonia, must here be included under Raetia, and the two Germanies under the general denomination of Gaul, of which they geographically formed a part.

All these provinces were occupied by Celts, although several German tribes had settled west of the Rhine. The Danubian provinces were of mixed nationality. The Raetians of the Alps were probably not of the Celtic race. They appear to have been akin to the Etruscans, while the Vindelicians of the northern

part of the province of Raetia, as well as the inhabitants of Noricum and Pannonia, were Celts, but with a large admixture of an earlier population, probably of Illyrian race.

41 2 **Sarmătis:** The Sarmatians of southern Russia were probably a Turanian tribe, perhaps Tartars. The term is often loosely applied to the Scythian peoples in general (see on ch. 46, 31). Here it is used in a narrower sense, of the *Iazyges Sarmătae* between the Danube and the Theiss. — **Dacisque**: the Dacians (the same people as the Getae) of Transylvania and Roumania were a branch of the Thracian race. The Slavonian inhabitants of central and northern Russia are mentioned in ch. 46.

41 3 **mutuo metu aut montibus:** the combination of abstract and concrete is a noteworthy feature of Tacitus' style. The Carpathian mountains running east and west, separate the Germans from the Dacians; north of these mountains great plains stretch to the Baltic, presenting no natural barrier between the Germans and Sarmatians. — **Oceanus:** a general term, here including the Baltic Sea.

41 4 **sinus:** 'windings,' referring here to land rather than to water. See *Agr.* ch. 23. — **insularum:** referring not only to the islands of the Baltic, but to the Scandinavian peninsula (see ch. 44), and possibly Jutland.

41 5 **nuper:** this must refer to the expeditions and conquests of Drusus, Tiberius, and Germanicus, in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. Since these times it could not be said of any part of Germany, *bellum aperuit*. Moreover, the word *nuper* is commonly used very loosely; and although these expeditions were nearly a hundred years before, yet this could fairly be called recent in comparison with the whole history of the Romans, especially as they came after the great epoch of the civil wars and the establishment of the empire. — **gentibus ac regibus:** nations with and without kings.

41 7 **modico flexu:** the gradual bending of the Rhine towards the west.

41 8 **versus:** a participle, used reflexively, like the Greek middle voice.

41 9 **Abnŏbae:** now known as the Black Forest (*Schwarzwald*). The name is found in Pliny (*N. H.* 4, 12, 24, 79) and Ptolemy (2, 11, 7), and is attested by inscriptions. This does not appear to be a genitive of possession, 'the ridge of Mt. Abnoba,' but of apposition: A. & G. 343, *d*; B. 202; G. 361; H. 440, 4.

41 10 **pluris** (= *compluris*) **populos:** i.e., the Raetians, Noricans, Pannonians, Dacians, and Moesians.

41 11 **sex meatibus:** at present the Danube has three principal mouths, but the northernmost of these is divided into nine or ten lesser channels. — **erumpat:** the subjunctive after *donec*, with no accessory notion of doubt or design, is characteristic of the late writers.

CHAPTER II

41 13 **Ipsos Germanos:** having spoken of the land, he passes to the inhabitants. — **indigenas:** Tacitus here is in singular agreement with the recent theories which place the original home of the Aryans in northern Europe. See Bang, *Expansion of the Teutons*, ch. 7. — **minime,** 'not at all.'

41 15 **nec terra olim,** etc.: the great migrations of early times — Phoenicians, Grecian colonies, etc., as well as the mythical migrations of the Pelasgians, of Aeneas and Antenor, were by sea. Tacitus shows, however, that he knew of the migrations by land of later times, e.g., of the Gauls into Italy and Germany (ch. 28). — **advehebantur . . . quaerebant:** the tense implies a custom; the subject of *advehebantur* is the antecedent of *qui*.

41 16 **ultra,** 'lying beyond.'

41 17 **adversus,** 'facing' from the opposite direction. He means that the ocean was not merely on the other side of Germany, but was approached only in that direction, so as to be impracticable for migrations from the known world, *ab orbe nostro*.

41 19 **Asia:** i.e., those parts of Asia which lie upon the Mediterranean.

41 20 **informem,** 'shapeless': i.e., from lack of culture, a characteristic especially distasteful to the classic craving for elegance of form.

41 21 **nisi si patria sit:** this belongs not with *peteret* (which would require *esset*) but with the adjectives just used to describe the country — 'uncouth, harsh, and gloomy to any but a native.'

41 22 **carminibus antiquis:** this passage proves a certain amount of historical tradition in the form of songs; it could not have been very extensive or trustworthy, however. The one specimen here given us has very little historical value.

41 23 **Tuistonem:** this god is not known from any other source. He was perhaps (see Mhf.) analogous to Ymir of Scandinavian mythology, a double divinity, both male and female. The root of the name is the same as that in German 'zwei' and English 'two.'

41 24 **Mannum:** the root, signifying 'thought,' is the same as in Latin *memini*, *Minerva*, English 'man,' German *Mensch*. He was probably regarded as the *Urmensch* of the German race.

42 1 **Ingaevŏnes,** etc.: this is an ethnological table similar to that in the tenth chapter of Genesis, and to that by which the Greeks traced their descent to the three sons of Hellen, Dorus, Aeolus, and Xuthus (father of Ion and Achaeus). The Italians do not appear to have personified their several races in the form of eponymous ancestors. The division here given is not exhaustive. Tacitus goes on (l, 3) to speak of other alleged branches, and Pliny, *N. H.* 4, 14, 28, 99, adds the Vandilii (between the Oder and Vistula), and the Peucini (in Poland and Galicia), to the three here given, thereby covering territory to the east of that here indicated. This fivefold division of Pliny, indeed, is much more satisfactory than Tacitus' vague threefold division (see Mhf. vol. 4, p. 120), but the latter may be accepted as correct, so far as it goes. The Ingaevŏnes correspond in general to the later Saxons of North Germany, the Istaevŏnes (*Istvaeones* in Pliny, and correctly) to the Franks of the west (between the Rhine and the Weser), and the Herminŏnes to the Thuringians and others of the centre. The names of the three sons of Mannus, according to Mhf., must have been Ingvas, Erminas, and Istvas (the *H* in Herminŏnes is not a part of the root), cognomens respectively of the gods Freyr, Tiu, and (perhaps) Wodan. It is to be noticed, as showing the small practical value of this classification, that Tacitus does not allude to it again when he takes up the nations in order.

42 2. **Quidam:** i.e., scholars and antiquarians, or German recounters.

42 3 **deo:** some (as Mhf.) interpret this as meaning *a* god; i.e., there were 'several of divine origin.' But *pluris natos* seems to be a continuation of *tris filios adsignant*, and, moreover, the interpretation in question would destroy the unity of the race by having it descend from different eponyms. According to some, *Mannus* is meant, who, although not a god, is yet called 'son of a god.' Most, however, take it to mean *Tuisto*. — **Marsos,** etc.: the Marsi, who were probably a part of the Sugambri, would naturally be classed among the Istaevones. The Gambrivii are not known from any other source except Strabo (6, 1, 3, 291), according to whom they lived in West Germany, near the Chatti and Cherusci. They are conjectured to have been the *Sugambri*, from the identity of the radical syllable; the Suebi are spoken of at length both by Tacitus (ch. 38) and Caesar, *B. G.* 4, 1 ff.; the Vandilii (the Vandals of history) are not mentioned elsewhere by Tacitus, but are one of the five great divisions given by Pliny (see above, on l. 1).

42 5 **Ceterum:** introduces a contrast between the ancient and genuine names mentioned above, and the recent and artificial name *Germania*. The same contrast is expressed in the words *nationis nomen non gentis*.

Germania was at first the name, not of the race, but of a single nation, or rather group of nations (Eburōnes, Condrūsi, Caerōsi, Paemāni), who led in the invasion of Gaul, and whose national name prevailed, *evaluisse*, as the name of the race.

This statement is confirmed by Caesar (*B. G.* 2, 4). He says explicitly that the Condrusi, Eburones, Caerosi, and Paemani *uno nomine Germani appellantur*. Now the chief town of the Eburones was Aduatuca (*B. G.* 6, 32), known later as Aduatuca Tungrorum, the modern Tongres. It needs no further proof that these four petty nations, united probably in a confederacy as *Germani*, were the original bearers of this name; it may be conjectured that their later name *Tungri* was assumed when their original name had been extended to the race. A similar instance of the special name of the first invaders being extended to their kindred is found in the Saxons who invaded Britain: being known to the native Britons first, their name was given also to the Angles who followed them. No satisfactory etymology has ever been found for the word *Germani;* but if it was originally only the name of a single nation, like Ubii and Chatti, this is not surprising. Some would explain it as a Latinized Teutonic word meaning 'brethren.' Mhf. explains it as Celtic, meaning either 'neighbors' or 'shouters.'

42 9 **a victore ob metum**: in these words there are involved two questions: who was the victor? and what is meant by *ob metum?* As it has just been said that the original *Germani* (the later *Tungri*) crossed the Rhine and expelled the Gauls, it would seem obvious that it is they that are intended by the word *victor;* in that case *ob metum* must mean 'to inspire fear.' The victorious *Germani* gave it out that they were but a part of their race — that the rest were to follow; and the name thus bestowed upon the rest of the Germans, *omnes*, in order to inspire the Gauls with terror, *ob metum*, was readily assumed by the rest, *a se ipsis*, the name having once become current, *invento nomine*. This is the explanation given by most editors and those who think that it may mean 'shouters' consider the terror to lie largely in the signification of the name.

CHAPTER III

42 11 **et Herculem**: the wanderings of Hercules stand in these songs in connection with the old genealogies. His wanderings are referred to again in ch. 34, and he is mentioned as a god in ch. 9. His name is probably here the Roman equivalent for *Donar*. The two have many similar attributes, e.g., the club and hammer respectively; their benefits to mankind.

42 12 **primumque**: i.e., the greatest.

42 13 **Sunt illis**: from this to *intumescat* is a digression, suggested by the word *canunt;* with *ceterum* the main subject is resumed. The songs already described are narrative and mythical; *haec carmina* are war songs. — **haec** = *talia*.

42 14 **barditum**: this word is probably derived from *bardhi*, 'shield';

some derive it from *bere*, 'clamor'; some would connect it with the Celtic *bard*.

42 16 **sonuit**: *acies* is its subject.

42 17 **concentus**: 'concord': the concord appears to be more in the spirit than the sound.

42 18 **obiectis ad os scutis**: probably like the sound made by boys, by placing their hands before their mouths, and rapidly taking them away and replacing them.

42 20 **Ceterum**: 'moreover.' — **quidam**: this would seem to refer, not to the Germans, but to Roman writers.

42 21 **illo**: 'well-known.' — **fabuloso**: 'full of legends.' Cf. Hor. *Od.* 1, 22, 7: *fabulosus Hydaspes*. — **in hunc Oceanum**: the North Sea.

42 22 **Asciburgium**: this town is mentioned again by Tacitus (*Hist.* 4, 33), and is probably represented by Asberg, a few miles from Düsseldorf in Rhenish Prussia, where some remains have been found in modern times.

42 24 **Ulixi**: this may be the dative of the agent, but is probably to be taken as a true dative, in which case the altar was consecrated by the companions of Ulysses. As for the statements in this paragraph, it is not necessary for us to sift them. Tacitus himself says below: *neque confirmare argumentis neque refellere in animo est.*

42 26 **Graecis litteris**: it appears from Caesar, *B. G.* 1, 29, that these were in use by the Helvetians, and they may easily have been known throughout southern Germany. The earlier home of the Helvetians was almost *in confinio Germaniae Raetiaeque*. In the present case the letters may have been Etruscan, see on *Gallis Raetisque*, ch. 1, 1.

42 29 **demat vel addat fidem**: 'deny or admit credibility.'

CHAPTER IV

42 32 **aliis**: this word is rejected by some editors as being pleonastic, but appears to be used for the sake of emphasis.

43 4 **truces et caerulei oculi**, etc.: this description would also apply to the Gauls, and Tacitus himself says (see *Agr.* ch. 11), that the inhabitants of Caledonia had *rutilae comae, magni artus*. So the modern Highlanders. *Rutilae* is not red, but reddish yellow, auburn. The want of persistency in fight is also testified to by Caesar as to the Gauls (*B. G.* 3, 19): *ut ad bella suscipienda . . . alacer ac promptus est animus, sic mollis ac minime resistens ad calamitates perferendas mens eorum est.*

43 6 **tolerare**: supply *adsueverunt*.

43 17 **caelo solove**: abl. of cause. — **adsueverunt**: supply *tolerare*.

CHAPTER V

43 10 **Gallias . . . Noricum ac Pannoniam:** he mentions only those parts of Germany which were directly accessible from the empire, Holland and Bohemia; not that the part towards Gaul is wholly wet (*umidus*), but that it is here, on the lower Rhine, that the swamps are found. — **ventosior:** contrasted with *umidior*. The winds might naturally seem to make the land dry.

43 11 **satis:** probably ablative: the three branches of production, growing crops, fruits, and cattle, are mentioned.

43 12 **improcera:** sc. *sunt pecora*.

43 13 **suus:** 'that belongs to them.' *Honor* is to be explained as meaning 'beauty' or 'size,' and *gloria frontis* as referring to the horns — not that they had no horns, but short ones; the cattle of Italy are to this day distinguished for their size, length of horn, and beauty.

43 14 **solae et gratissimae opes:** this indicates that the Germans had not yet passed wholly out of the pastoral stage. — **Argentum,** etc.: as cattle were the most precious possessions of the Germans, the transition to silver and gold, the things of chief value to the Romans, is natural.

43 18 **haud perinde:** i.e., *ac alii populi*. This comparison is implied, but not necessarily expressed in English, and *haud perinde* may be translated simply 'not particularly.' It is used in this way *Ann.* 2, 88: *Arminius . . . haud perinde celebris*. (Mhf.) — **Est videre:** 'it is possible to see,' like the Greek ἔστιν ὁρᾶν. The construction is found once in Cato (*R.R. Praef.* 1), and commonly in post-Augustan poets.

43 19 **principibus:** this word occurs in the following chapters: 5; 10; 11 (twice); 12; 13 (four times); 14; 15; 22; 38. There are many shades of opinion as to its meaning or meanings. Some deny to it any very definite or consistent meaning and interpret it differently in different places. Others give it a definite and consistent meaning throughout the treatise. As to this meaning the two following views are important. I (maintained in the present edition). The *principes* were elected magistrates, commonly chosen from the higher ranks of society. II. The *principes* were such, not through election, but by virtue of high birth. From among them certain magistrates, to whom the name also applied, were elected to perform judicial functions in the subdivisions of the *civitas*. Cf. Mhf. on ch. 7, *reges ex nobilitate*, etc. This second view is at present more generally accepted than the first.

43 21 **proximi:** sc. *ripae Rheni et Danuvii*.

43 22 **formas:** would seem to mean the device upon the coin.

43 23 **adgnoscunt atque eligunt:** these words refer respectively to the ability to recognize the coins as genuine or not, and the ability to choose among them those of most value. Cf. below, l. 25, *probant . . . bigatosque.*

43 24 **permutatione mercium:** 'barter': another proof of the early stage of social development in which the Germans were at this time.

43 25 **diu notam:** all uncivilized nations are suspicious of new varieties of coin. English sovereigns will circulate at the present day where other gold pieces of the same value would be rejected. The coins here mentioned, *denarii*, were common towards the close of the Roman Republic: the *serrati* had toothed edges; the *bigati* the stamp of a *biga*, or two-horse chariot.

43 27 **nulla adfectione:** causal abl. corresponding to *quia est* which follows. — **numerus:** the silver coins, of which the number (*numerus*) must be greater than that of the gold to reach a given value, were better suited to the petty general (*promiscua*) trade of the Germans.

43 28 **facilior:** 'more convenient.'

CHAPTER VI

43 29 **superest:** 'is in abundance' or 'superfluity.'

43 30 **lanceis:** the *lancea* had a broad iron; the *hasta* or *framea*, a narrow one.

43 31 **frameas:** according to Mhf. from the root *fram*, forward.

44 3 **missilia spargunt:** a poetical expression, used by Vergil, *Aen.* 12, 51, and before him by Ennius (Macrob. 6, 4, 6): *Sparsis hastis longis campus splendet et horret.*

44 4 **in immensum:** refers to the distance. — **nudi:** not necessarily 'naked,' but without outer garment; just so Cincinnatus was ploughing, *nudus* (Plin. *N. H.* 18, 3, 3, 20), when word was brought him that he had been appointed dictator; then *togam propere e tugurio proferre uxorem Raciliam iubet* (Liv. 3, 26). Vergil too directs the husbandman *nudus ara, sere nudus* (*Georg.* 1, 299). The *sagum* of the Romans (*sagulum*, to denote its commonness) was a military cloak, worn like the toga, over the tunic. This passage therefore means that they fight either in the tunic alone (or perhaps, as the barbarian soldiers on the column of Trajan are represented, with the upper part of the body literally *nudus*), or with a cloak worn so lightly as not to encumber them. See ch. 17, 26, *tegumen omnibus sagum.*

44 5 **cultus:** refers of course to military equipment. — **scuta . . . distinguunt:** e.g., the Harii (ch. 43) had *nigra scuta.* So Germanicus (Tac. *Ann.* 2, 14) speaks of the shields of the Germans as *fucatas colore*

tabulas. This is probably the origin of the medieval custom of distinguishing the shield by special devices.

44 6 **cassis**: of metal. — **galea**: of leather.

44 8 **variare gyros**: refers to complicated manœuvres of cavalry, in which the course was shifted from one direction to another, like the figure 8. Cf. the description of the *ludus Troianus*, Verg. *Aen.* 5, 580 ff. In their exercises the Germans use only simple movements. The expression *coniuncto orbe* would seem to mean riding around 'in a closed circle,' at such equal intervals *ut nemo posterior sit*, in which case the movement here described is to be understood as a military exercise merely, not an evolution in battle. The whole movement, however, is more commonly explained as 'wheeling,' in which case *coniuncto orbe* is explained as if the text were *uno flexu dextros in orbem ita coniuncti agunt ut nemo posterior sit* (Mhf.).

44 9 **agunt**: sc. *equos*.

44 10 **In universum aestimanti**: 'judging them on the whole'; see *Agr.* ch. 11.

44 11 **mixti**: cf. Amm. Marc. 16, 12, 21, of the battle of Strassburg (A.D. 375): *iidemque sparsim pedites miscuere discursatores et leves profecto ratione tuta poscente.* Caesar also (*B. G.* 1, 48) describes this German practice of combining infantry with cavalry. According to him, they were in equal numbers, each cavalryman picking out his own companion: *equitum milia erant sex, totidem numero pedites . . . quos . . . singuli singulos . . . delegerant: cum his in proeliis versabantur. Ad eos se equites recipiebant: hi, si quid erat durius, concurrebant.* He also speaks of their speed: *tanta erat . . . celeritas, ut iubis sublevati equorum cursum adaequarent.*

44 13 **Definitur et numerus**, etc.: this passage probably has reference to the composition of the whole army (Waitz, vol. 1, p. 220); that is, is to be connected with the passage that follows rather than that which precedes. Tacitus says positively, that the 'hundred' here described had no numerical value, was merely a name — *quod primo numerus fuit, iam nomen et honor est.* This is in accordance with the view that the *pagus* was identical with the 'hundred,' regarded as a subdivision both of the people and of the territory. The word had ceased to have any meaning in its original sense before the beginning of authentic history and in all probability Tacitus, both here and in ch. 12, 19, refers to these historical divisions, without recognizing the fact in the latter case that the name was nothing but a name. See Waitz, l. c. Views more commonly held now are that the term 'hundred' was not until much later used of territorial subdivision (see Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsge-*

schichte, vol. 1), that the *pagus* did not correspond to the 'hundred,' but was a larger division; that the words *definitur et numerus, centeni*, etc., apply to the *pedites delecti* only (see Mhf. and SSS.).

44 16 **per cuneos:** this old Germanic order of battle, called 'Boars-head,' is described by Saxo Grammaticus, as composed of two men in the first line, four in the second, and so on.

44 17 **Cedere loco:** this was considered disgraceful by the Romans.

44 18 **quam formidinis:** sc. *potius*.

44 19 **dubiis proeliis:** i.e., in battles the outcome of which was uncertain; thus a mark of great devotion and daring.

44 20 **concilium:** the public assembly of all freemen, described in chs. 11 and 12.

CHAPTER VII

44 23 **Reges . . . sumunt**, etc.: it is seen, from other passages in the *Germania*, that not all the German nations had kings. It would appear that the natives of the east and north, with most of the Suebi, probably, therefore, more than half of the whole race, were governed by kings, while the republican nations were mostly in the west and northwest, for which reason they were better known to the Romans. Caesar, indeed, says explicitly (*B. G.* 6, 23), that the Germans of his acquaintance had no chief magistrate: *in pace nullus est communis magistratus*. Some authorities infer the same from Tacitus, while others consider that he implies that republican states differed from regal only in having a *princeps* instead of a *rex* at the head. Other references to kings in the *Germania* are in ch. 10, in connection with augury, in ch. 12, as recipient of fines. Kings of individual peoples appear in chs. 42, 44, and 45.

In form this sentence is typical. See Introd. p. 36, on anaphora. — **ex nobilitate:** 'according to birth.'

Nobilitate is evidently used here not in the sense of 'a body of nobility,' but a quality (like *virtute*), 'noble birth,' implying social but not political distinction. Tacitus several times mentions *nobiles* and *nobilitas*, but nowhere defines the terms, and nowhere, except in the present passage, ascribes any political influence or power to the nobility. The origin of this nobility is uncertain, though probably it was based upon supposed descent from some divinity. The political constitution, as described by Tacitus, was essentially democratic, but members of rich and noble families would undoubtedly be preferred for offices of responsibility and power. — **ex virtute:** It is not to be understood that the two classes of officers mentioned, *reges* and *duces*, existed side by side. In those nations that had kings, the kings were the leaders in war, and these kings were, as has been shown, always of noble birth, regularly elected from some one family. In the nations that had no kings, Caesar tells us (*B. G.* 6, 23) that in

case of war *magistratus qui ei bello praesint . . . deliguntur*. The Saxons, as we learn from the venerable Bede (*H. E.* 5, 10), did not elect these leaders *ex virtute*, but selected them by lot from among the regular magistrates: *mittunt aequaliter sortes, et quemcumque sors ostenderit, hunc tempore belli ducem omnes sequuntur*. A certain analogy with these kings chosen *ex nobilitate* and leaders *ex virtute* is found among the North American Indians, whose hereditary 'sachems' exercise civil authority only (but not *infinita aut libera potestas*), while the elected 'chiefs' are leaders in war. (See Morgan's *Ancient Society* p. 71.)

44 24 **exemplo:** abl. of means, explained by *si . . . agant*.

44 26 **admiratione:** abl. of cause.

44 27 **animadvertere:** 'inflict death,' as in *Hist.* 1, 46, and elsewhere.

44 28 **sacerdotibus:** Caesar (*B. G.* 6, 21) says that the Germans have no druids, *neque sacrificiis student*. It appears clearly, however, from several passages in Tacitus (e.g., ch. 11), that the Germans had priests and sacred rites.

44 30 **Effigiesque et signa:** not *simulacra*, 'idols' in human form. The *effigies* were symbolic images, generally in the form of animals, as the wolf of Wodan, the ram of Tiu; the *signa* were attributes, like the hammer of Thor. Tacitus says, in the revolt of Civilis (*Hist.* 4, 22): *inde depromptae silvis lucisque ferarum imagines, ut cuique genti inire proelium mos est*, a passage which evidently describes the same custom as that here mentioned.

45 1 **cuneum:** here a 'division of infantry,' as *turma* is a division of cavalry. — **familiae et propinquitates:** Caesar says (*B. G.* 6, 22) that the assignments of land were *gentibus cognationibusque hominum*. From the two passages, it appears that the divisions of land and military divisions were alike founded upon kinship.

45 2 **pignora:** i.e., wives and children.

45 3 **audiri:** unless an *est* has dropped out here (cf. on *est videre*, ch. 5), this must be the historical infinitive, denoting customary action. For this use there is no parallel (see Draeger, *Syntax und Stil des Tacitus*, 28, d, 172, a), and Tacitus may have been influenced in using it by Vergil, *Aen.* 7, 15, *hinc exaudiri gemitus*.

45 5 **exigere,** 'examine carefully,' a late use of the word.

45 6 **cibosque et hortamina:** for the combination of concrete and abstract, common in Tacitus, cf. *mutuo metu aut montibus*, ch. 1, 3.

CHAPTER VIII

45 9 **obiectu pectorum:** i.e., by exposing themselves to the perils of the battle; e.g., in the battle of Aquae Sextiae, B.C. 102.

45 10 **impatientius . . . timent:** the men show less fortitude in their dread of captivity for their women than on their own behalf.

45 13 **Inesse:** sc. *feminis*. — **providum:** 'prophetic.'

45 15 **Velĕdam:** Tacitus tells of her in the fourth and fifth books of his *Histories*, in the revolt of Civilis. His description of her authority (4, 61) illustrates the present passage: *ea virgo nationis Bructerae late imperitabat, vetere apud Germanos more, quo plerasque feminarum fatidicas et augescente superstitione arbitrantur deas.*

45 16 **Albrūnam:** nothing is known of this woman from any other source. This form of her name is found in the margin of one manuscript, T. The chief variants are *Albriniam* and *Auriniam* (see App.). *Albruna* would mean 'a woman gifted with magic powers.'

45 17 **nec tamquam,** etc.: i.e., they were not goddesses, but *sanctum aliquid inerat*, in contrast to Veleda, who was *numinis loco habitam*. Albruna was an example of the first class of women mentioned in *Hist.* 4, 61 (above), *plerasque feminarum fatidicas*, Veleda of the second, implied in *augescente superstitione arbitrantur deas*.

CHAPTER IX

45 19 **Deorum:**

Tacitus seems here, with a better knowledge of the subject, to contradict Caesar, who says (*B. G.* 6. 21) that the Germans had a pure nature worship, *deorum numero eos solos ducunt, quos cernunt et quorum aperte opibus iuvantur, Solem et Vulcanum et Lunam, reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt*, that is, of sun, moon, and fire. The chief of the German gods was Wodan, who corresponds to Mercury in being the inventor of letters, the god of eloquence, and the protector of traffic, as Caesar describes him in his account of the gods of the Gauls (*B. G.* 6, 17); the name Wednesday (Wodansday) is in French Mercredi (*dies Mercurii*). The next of the great gods was Donar (Thor) the thunderer, whose adventures resemble those of Hercules, and whose attribute, the hammer, corresponds to the club of Hercules. As wielder of the thunderbolt he was more commonly identified with Jupiter, whence Thursday, in French Jeudi (*dies Iovis*). Mars is easily identified with Tiu. Tuesday is in French Mardi (*dies Martis*). This name is etymologically the same as *Zeus* or *Jupiter*, the god of the sky. Isis cannot be positively identified. Tacitus calls her worship a foreign rite, *peregrinum sacrum*, and some have therefore conjectured that the worship of the Egyptian Isis, very widespread, and at this period the most fashionable religion in Rome, had in some way made its way to the Germans. It is more likely that the galley, which formed a part of the ceremonial, reminded Tacitus of the *remigium Isidis*, or Roman festival of March 5, on which day a procession took place to the seashore, and a ship filled with spices was sent out to sea. Probably she is to be identified with some native German goddess, very likely the *Nerthus* mentioned in ch. 40.

45 20 **humanis . . . hostiis:** see ch. 39. The human sacrifices were not, however, confined to Wodan.

45 21 **concessis**: 'such as are allowed,' in contrast to *humanis hostiis*.

45 23 **signum**: 'symbol.'

45 24 **docet advectam religionem**: i.e., the ship is a symbol of foreign origin. As has been already said, it is more likely that the resemblance in rites suggested the identity with Isis.

45 25 **Ceterum**: contrasts the native deities with the foreign goddess Isis, who was represented by a *signum*. This simplicity of worship and freedom from idolatry is characteristic of the Aryan nations in their early history. So of the Romans Varro testifies: *plus annos centum et septuaginta deos sine simulacro coluisse*. Augustine, *C. D.* 4, 31.

45 26 **ex magnitudine**: 'consistent with the greatness.' This consideration of dignity is hardly likely to be the correct explanation; rather they did not feel the need and the impulse of giving definite shape to a spiritual being abstractly conceived, *secretum quod sola reverentia vident*. Their gods, although not clothed with human form, were nevertheless distinctly personified and named.

45 28 **secretum illud**: 'that mystery.' It is likely, however, that Tacitus exaggerates the spirituality of the German worship. See Furneaux.

CHAPTER X

45 30 **sortesque**: Caesar (*B. G.* 1, 50) states the custom of the Germans to have been: *ut matres familiae eorum sortibus et vaticinationibus declararent, utrum proelium committi ex usu esset necne*. — **ut qui maxime**: *observant* is to be understood with both subjects, they observe them 'as they do who observe them most.'

45 31 **frugiferae arbori**: oak, beech, or hazel, for the Germans had no orchards; see ch. 26. The method here described was of course not the only one observed.

45 32 **notis**: i.e., runes.

46 2 **sacerdos**: the functions of the priests, specified in the *Germania* are, besides the interpretation of signs spoken of in this chapter, the infliction of punishments (ch. 7), and the maintaining of order in the assembly of the people (ch. 11). Priests of special divinities are spoken of in chs. 40 and 43.

46 4 **ter singulos**: i.e., three times, one at a time.

46 5 **interpretatur**: i.e., explains the meaning of the three in combination, according to the rules of oracular interpretation.

46 7 **adhuc**: 'in addition': i.e., the sanction of the lot was not deemed complete unless confirmed by auspices.

46 8 **etiam hic**: i.e., among the Germans. As is well known, this was the usual method of taking auspices among the Romans.

46 9 **Proprium gentis:** 'peculiar to the race.' This method, however, was known to the early Greeks and the Persians. See *Il.* 19, 405; Herod. 3, 86, 1; 1, 189, 1, the latter indicating a preference for white horses.

46 10 **isdem nemoribus ac lucis:** i.e., those mentioned in the last chapter.

46 11 **pressos:** 'yoked.'

46 12 **princeps:** See on chs. 5, 19 and 11, 21.

46 14 **sed apud proceres,** etc.: *proceres* refers to *rex vel princeps*, who accompanied the priest. The *proceres* were not identical with the *principes* (though in *Ann.* 1, 55, the terms seem to be used interchangeably), but (Waitz, vol. 1, p. 240) the *principes* were generally chosen from the *proceres*.

46 15 **illos:** i.e., the horses.

46 16 **putant:** the *proceres* and *sacerdotes*.

46 18 **quoquo** = *quovis:* as frequently in late writers.

46 19 **committunt:** 'match against,' in single combat.

CHAPTER XI

46 21 **principes:** 'chiefs,' not 'nobles,' which in Tacitus is *nobiles*. (See chs. 8; 25; 44.)

The *principes* appear from the next chapter to be a kind of magistrates, exercising judicial functions. Caesar also (*B. G.* 6, 23) says that they administered justice, and (6, 22) joins them with magistrates, *magistratus ac principes*, as exercising public authority as rulers, not as forming a social class or nobility. From the present passage it appears also that they formed a governing board, administering all lesser affairs by their own authority, more important matters being determined by the *concilium* or assembly of citizens; these too, however, coming under the previous consideration of the *principes*. *Plebem* is used here not to designate the lower classes, but the people, as distinguished from the magistrates. It may be remarked that all special titles of nobility — prince, duke, earl, etc. — were in their origin magistracies. See also on *principibus*, ch. 5, 19.

46 24 **Coeunt:** appears to have as its subject *omnes*, i.e., the assemblies here described are those of the people, not of the *principes*. — **nisi quid,** etc.: from this it follows that the *principes* had authority to convene the assembly at irregular times. Regular meetings, to which no summons was issued, were held two or three times a year *certis diebus*.

46 25 **cum aut incohatur,** etc.: not, of course, every new and full moon, but on certain specified ones.

46 26 **auspicatissimum:** so Ariovistus (Caes. *B. G.* 1, 50) was forbidden by his wise women to fight before the new moon.

46 27 **Nec dierum numerum,** etc.: this sentence has nothing to do with the institution under discussion, but is a casual remark suggested by the word *luna*. Following this usage, we say *fort'night, se'nnight;* compare also the German *Weihnacht*, Christmas. Formerly in New England the Sabbath was considered to begin and end at sunset; and the same reckoning is observed by the Jews and Mohammedans. So the Gauls; see Caes. *B. G.* 6, 18.

46 28 **constituunt . . . condicunt:** sc. *diem:* 'they make their appointments and their agreements.'

46 30 **ut:** 'when.' — **et alter:** 'even a second.'

46 31 **turbae:** this is the reading of the manuscripts and must mean 'when the people are ready,' *turba* being the confused crowd of people before they are called to order. Many editors change *turbae* to *turba*, which would throw the decision into the hands of the magistrates; this is perhaps, in itself, more probable, but there is no reason for emending the passage in order to get a less democratic interpretation of it.

46 32 **armati:** this is the usage with many early nations, and Freeman, *Growth of the English Constitution* (1873), p. 7, mentions its continuance in certain Swiss cantons. So among the Gauls, according to Caesar, *B. G.* 5, 5, and Livy, 21, 20.

47 1 **tum:** 'on these occasions'; see ch. 7, where it is said that the authority to punish with death, imprisonment, or scourging belongs only to the priests. — **princeps:** see on *principibus*, ch. 5, 19.

It is debated whether this is 'a' *princeps* or 'the' *princeps*. Those who hold that republican states had one chief at their head (*princeps civitatis*, ch. 10), as the monarchical states had a king, maintain that 'a' *princeps* would be some such expression as *principum aliquis* (ch. 13). Mhf. would translate with the definite article, though regarding this *princeps* as not necessarily the head of the entire *civitas*. On the other hand, *audiuntur* points to more speakers than one, and the use of *cuique* indicates more *principes* than one, while the words *auctoritate . . . potestate* go to show that the speaking was entirely by official personages. Monarchical states as well as republican had *principes*, and it seems best to explain this passage as describing a debate carried on exclusively by magistrates, king where there was one, and *principes*.

47 5 **frameas concutiunt:** 'strike together' the spear points. So the members of the Hungarian diet, A.D. 1741, when they shouted *moriemur pro rege nostro Maria Theresia.* Compare the statement of Caesar about the Gauls: *multitudo et suo more armis concrepat, B. G.* 7, 21.

CHAPTER XII

47 8 **accusare quoque:** the last chapter treats of the general power of the assembly, this of its judicial authority, from which it passes to

the judicial authority of the magistrates, *principes*. The word *licet* implies that this was not its principal or regular power. — **discrimen capitis intendere**: 'threaten capital punishment.'

47 9 **ex delicto**: cf. *ex nobilitate*, ch. 7, 23.

47 11 **corpore infames**: 'those guilty of sensual transgressions.'

47 12 **illuc**: 'to the following point.'

47 13 **tamquam**: 'namely that.' This use of *tamquam*, to introduce a clause like a quod clause, or, even sometimes an acc. and inf., belongs to post-Augustan Latin and is especially common in Tacitus. See G. 602, R. 2, N. 4. — **scelera . . . flagitia**: these terms, though not always, are here distinguished from one another, *scelera* referring to political offenders, *proditores et transfugas*, *flagitia* to those who offended by faults of personal character, *ignavos et imbelles et corpore infames*, especially the last.

47 14 **et levioribus delictis**: the punishments which follow are of the nature of the *wergeld* of later times, a pecuniary penalty for bodily injuries, paid, part to the person injured or his kindred, part to the state.

47 15 **Equorum pecorumque**: an illustration of the familiar fact that early nations used cattle in place of money; *pecunia* from *pecus*.

47 16 **Pars multae**: the part of the *wergeld* which was paid to the king or state was called *fredus* (peace-money); that paid to the injured party *faidus* (feud-money).

47 17 **Eliguntur . . . principes**:

This passage is explained as meaning that the judicial magistrates of the several districts, *per pagos vicosque*, were elected not by the residents of their districts, but by the assembly of the nation. Taken in connection with the opening words of ch. 11, *de minoribus rebus principes consultant*, we gather that these judicial officers of the several districts also served as executive magistrates of the nation in the intervals of the assembly, and as preparing business for the assembly. Caesar (*B. G.* 6, 23) tells us precisely the same thing: *principes regionum atque pagorum inter suos ius dicunt controversiasque minuunt.* When he says *in pace nullus est communis magistratus*, *communis* must be taken to mean a single chief magistrate, or perhaps it may be that the Germans advanced in centralization of authority in the interval between Caesar and Tacitus. See on *Reges*, ch. 7, 23. The venerable Bede (*H. E.* 5, 10) mentions *satrapas plurimos suae genti praepositos*, not specifying their executive and judicial functions, but implying that the former are the prominent ones. See also on *Reges . . . sumunt* etc., ch. 7, 23.

47 18 **per pagos vicosque**: cf. *Ann.* 1, 56. The *pagi* were the districts over which the *principes* had authority; the *vici* are not to be taken as subdivisions, but rather refer in an indefinite way to the villages

within these districts, in which the judicial assemblies would naturally be held.

47 19 **reddunt:** the indicative shows that he is speaking of certain specified officers (i.e., those mentioned in ch. 11) having taken these powers; the subjunctive might refer to a different set of officers now first mentioned. Mhf. explains the clause *qui iura . . . reddunt* as equivalent to an adjective, defining these men as the 'judicial' *principes* chosen from the whole number of *principes*. See on *principibus*, ch. 5, 19. — **Centeni:** this expression is probably to be taken as referring to the 'hundred,' which was the name of the *pagus* just described (see on *centeni ex singulis pagis*, ch. 6, 14). The popular court of the Hundred, presided over by the magistrate, was composed in later times of the entire body of the freemen; if this was the case in the time of Tacitus, it would be very easy for him to confuse the name of the district, meaning a hundred, with the members of the court, and to suppose that these were a hundred in number. In later times, *hunno* was the name of the assistants in the popular court. — **consilium simul et auctoritas:** in apposition with *comites*. The members of the court gave their judgment as to law and usage, and this had the force of a verdict.

CHAPTER XIII

47 22 **armati:** see on *armati*, ch. 11, 32.

47 23 **moris,** sc. *est*. — **suffecturum,** sc. *eum armis*. — **Tum in ipso concilio:** there is difference of opinion as to whether the procedure here described indicated only the attainment of majority the *patria potestas* holding till the son established a household of his own (Mhf.), or emancipation from the father's authority (the same formality being used in the case of the marriage of a daughter), majority following upon this as a matter of course (Sohm, p. 551). According to the latter view, when the ceremony was performed by a *propinquus* it might establish the filial relation, though the German adoption did not, like the Roman, create the *patria potestas*.

47 28 **principis dignationem:** 'the favor of the chief': i.e., the one mentioned in l. 24.

In this passage *dignationem* has sometimes been taken as equivalent to *dignitatem*, and explained as meaning that the rank of *princeps* is conferred by noble birth and the services of their fathers. In connection with this, *princeps* is interpreted as meaning 'noble' rather than 'magistrate'; as to which, it is enough to say that if the youth already possessed noble birth, *nobilitas*, the rank assigned him, that of *princeps*, must have been some personal authority. The meaning 'rank' or 'dignity' is not impossible, and would mean that the office of *princeps* was easily attained by young men of noble or distinguished birth; in illustra-

tion of which Waitz (vol. 1, p. 284) notices the ease with which members of noble families in modern kingdoms obtain places in the army or civil service. The whole tenor of the passage bears out the interpretation given above, and both *dignatio* (*Ann.* 2, 53) and *adsignare* are found with the signification here given; the active meaning is indeed the natural one for *dignatio*. Tacitus has just described the formality by which young men were received into the state as citizens, and goes on to speak of the personal relation of *comitatus*, into which they now entered with chiefs of distinction. The passage in question comes in naturally here as meaning that after they have received their shield and spear, they, according to their nobility or the reputation of their fathers, receive the favor of the chief, and are associated with his followers, older and more experienced men: *ceteris robustioribus ac iampridem probatis adgregantur*. This is the source of feudal vassalage.

47 30 **adgregantur** is used in a middle or reflexive sense. — **nec rubor,** etc.: the position of personal follower, standing in a relation of recognized dependence upon a man higher in rank, was confined, among the Romans, to the lower classes, for whom, in this relation, the word *cliens* was used; Tacitus sometimes (e.g., *Ann.* 12, 30) uses the word *clientes* to denote the *comites*. Naturally, therefore, it was a subject of remark that, among the Germans, this relation implied no indignity.

48 1 **apud principem suum:**

It has been questioned whether the chiefs who were authorized to have a *comitatus* were the same as those who administered justice in the hundreds. If this whole passage is taken in connection, it will appear that they were the same. Mention has just been made (ch. 12) of the judicial *principes;* immediately it is said that *principum aliquis* bestowed his arms upon the youth; then, that if the youth was of noble or distinguished parentage, this honor was more readily attained by him. The honor — the relation of *comes* — is next described, and again reference is made to *principem suum*. Here the word is used five times in sixteen lines, and it seems impossible that it should not be used every time in the same sense. Caesar seems to support the same view when (*B. G.* 6, 23), after mentioning the judicial *principes*, he goes on to speak of them as leaders in raids: *ubi quis ex principibus in concilio dixit se ducem fore, qui sequi velint, profiteantur, consurgunt ii*, etc. The temporary relation described by Caesar would easily grow into the permanent one described by Tacitus.

48 2 **Haec dignitas,** etc.: of the *princeps*.

48 5 **cuique** follows *id nomen, ea gloria est.*

48 7 **expetuntur:** i.e., the *principes* who have a distinguished train of followers.

48 9 **profligant:** 'bring to an end.'

CHAPTER XIV

48 11 **Iam vero:** introduces a statement even stronger than the preceding.

48 12 **superstitem,** etc.: cf. Amm. Marc. 16, 12, 60: *Ultro se dedit solus egressus, comitesque eius ducenti numero et tres amici iunctissimi, flagitium arbitrati post regem vivere, vel pro rege non mori, si ita tulerit casus, tradidere se vinciendos.* — **principi:** dative after *superstitem*, which agrees with *comitem* understood. We have here a description of that personal relation between chief and follower which was developed into the similar relation between lord and vassal in the feudal system.

48 13 **sua . . . adsignare:** cf. what is said of Agricola, *Agr.* 8.

48 14 **praecipuum sacramentum:** 'the most important obligation to which they are pledged.'

48 20 **tueare:** this is the second person singular of the subjunctive, referring to an indefinite subject, and practically equivalent to a passive, 'one maintains a retinue' = 'a retinue is maintained.' — **Exigunt enim,** etc.: these were probably the gifts in virtue of which the young man entered into the relation of *comes*. The equipment of the warrior by his lord with arms which should revert to the lord on the death of the follower, was afterwards the custom and was known as *heriot*.

48 22 **Nam epulae,** etc.: this is to explain that their sustenance was of the nature of pay for services, while the equipment was the condition upon which they entered into the service.

48 23 **apparatus:** this may be hendiadys with *epulae*, 'abundant banquets.'

48 24 **munificentiae:** 'generosity,' contrasted with *stipendio*, mere 'pay.' — **Nec arare,** etc.: this statement applies to the *comites*, not necessarily to the Germans as a race.

48 25 **annum:** 'the fruits of the year,' as in *Agr.* 31: *ager atque annus*.

48 26 **vocare:** *provocare*.

CHAPTER XV

The statements in this chapter apply directly to the chiefs and their followers, who have just been described; they must, nevertheless, be understood to be true also of the rest of the Germans in their leading features.

48 29 **non multum:** this seems inconsistent with Caesar's statement (*B. G.* 6, 21): *vita omnis in venationibus atque in studiis rei militaris consistit.* Is it not, however, consistent with what we know of the military class in barbarous nations — long seasons of idleness and gluttony, with occasional hunting expeditions? It is to be assumed that Tacitus in the present passage has especially in mind the *principes* and their followers; the Germans, moreover, were a partly agricultural

people, with whom hunting was not a necessity of life, as with savage nations.

49 3 **Mos est civitatibus,** etc.: this is the beginning of taxation, voluntary contributions rendered by every man, *viritim;* for the process by which they became compulsory see Lodge's *Essay on Anglo-Saxon Land Law*, p. 63.

49 4 **armentorum:** this is a partitive genitive, depending upon an indefinite idea of part, such as is common in Greek; see Goodwin's *Greek Grammar*, 1091, N.

49 7 **publice** = *a gentibus.*

49 9 **pecuniam:** this was nearer akin to direct bribery, which the Romans never scrupled to use in order to bring foreign princes under their influence. *Iam* shows that this was recent.

CHAPTER XVI

49 10 **Nullis . . . urbes:** here is indicated the most fundamental difference between the early institutions of the Greeks and Romans and those of the Germans. The Greeks and Romans at a very early period adopted the custom of living in cities, and made the city their type of free government; the Germans continued to live in villages or scattered habitations (*Höfe*) until after the time of Charles the Great (see Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 130). Indeed, the aversion of the Germans to cities went so far that the destruction of cities generally followed at once upon their conquest of a country.

49 11 **ne pati quidem,** etc.: the position of *quidem* shows that the emphasis is placed upon *pati; inter se* qualifies *pati*, and *iunctas sedes* is to be taken as equivalent to *urbes*. The subject of *pati* is *populos* supplied from above.

49 12 **Colunt discreti ac diversi:** in this passage is seen a distinct advance from the condition of things depicted by Caesar (*B. G.* 6, 22), from which individual possession and separate dwellings seem to be entirely absent (Inama-Sternegg, p. 10). We are not, nevertheless, to take this passage as describing a general practice of isolated dwelling, but rather the possibility of this; and the villages, *vici*, described in the next sentence, are simply one form of this practice of living *ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus placuit.* Both ways of living, in villages and in scattered houses, are contrasted to the *iunctas sedes* of the Romans. That they usually lived in villages is implied in the description (ch. 19) of the punishment of adultery: *per omnem vicum verbere agit.*

These two systems, that of scattered habitations, *Höfe*, and of villages, *Dörfer*, were both in practice among the early Germans. The question of their

relative prevalence has been much discussed. The present passage in Tacitus is one of the most important pieces of evidence on the subject. It is often taken to describe the two systems, the *Hof* in *colunt discreti*, etc.: the *Dorf* in *vicos locant*, etc. It is not likely, however, that Tacitus distinguished so minutely as this; he appears only to describe in general terms the rural life of the Germans as contrasted with the urban life of the Romans. Another contrast is pointed out in the villages themselves, in which the houses stood by themselves with little court-yards, *spatio circumdat*, as at present in America, not as in the ancient Italian villages (and in those of Europe generally at the present day), *conexis et cohaerentibus aedificiis*.

The village system, an outgrowth of the family organization, has been investigated by Von Maurer and others, whose views will be found represented in English in Sir Henry Maine's *Village Communities*. See also Laveleye, *de la propriété et de ses formes primitives*. Inama-Sternegg has made a study of the opposing system, and has shown that the village system was far from being as universal as is often assumed. See also *Studies in the Early History of Institutions*, by D. W. Ross, Cambridge, 1880; *The Early History of Landholding among the Germans*, Boston, 1883, by the same author; Fustel de Coulanges, *Recherches sur quelques problèmes d'histoire*, vol. 1; Kowalewvsky, *Die ökonomische Entwicklung Europas, etc.*, vol. 1.

49 15 **remedium**: in apposition with the preceding clause. It may be questioned whether either of these reasons is the true one; probably it was the native fancy of the Germans for individual life.

49 16 **inscitia**: ablative.

49 17 **materia**: 'timber.'

49 18 **informi**: 'unhewn': not, however, log cabins; the beams were placed vertically (hence the word *stockwerk*), the spaces between them being sometimes filled with earth. — **citra**: 'without'; a post-Augustan meaning, see *Agr.*, ch. 1.

49 20 **picturam** cannot mean 'house-painting,' covering the house with a uniform color, but such a combination of colors as gives the general effect of a picture, without, however, representing actual forms (it is only *imitetur*). — **lineamenta colorum**: 'colored lines.' These colors were probably daubed upon the earth or clay which filled the spaces between the beams.

49 25 **eo ipso . . . quod**: 'for the very reason that.' — **fallunt**, 'escape notice.'

CHAPTER XVII

49 27 **cetera intecti**: i.e., when in the house. Caesar says (*B. G.* 4, 1) that the Suebi had no clothing but skins: *quarum propter exiguitatem magna est corporis pars aperta.*

49 28 **veste**: an ablative of specification. The distinction between the rich and poor is not in their having such an undergarment, for all wore it, but in its quality and material (SSS.).

49 29 **fluitante**: such flowing garments have always been characteristic of the Asiatic nations. — **stricta**: 'tight-fitting.'

49 30 **singulos artus exprimente**: i.e., in the form of tunic and trousers.

49 31 **ripae**: sc. *Rheni*. — **ut quibus**: sc. *sit* (A. & G. 535, e, N. 1; B. 283, 3; G. 633; H. 592, 1). The idea of the passage is that those near the frontier obtain by trade woven stuffs which they like better; the more distant and less civilized take pride in the elegance of their furs.

49 32 **commercia**: by which they might obtain more elegant garments.

50 1 **maculis pellibusque**: hendiadys, 'spots made from the hides.' The animals here referred to, *quas . . . Oceanus . . . gignit*, are probably ermines, seals, etc.

50 4 **amictibus**: the outer garment, as distinguished from the *vestis*. — **purpura**: probably a border colored red from some plant.

50 5 **in manicas non extendunt**: the *stola* of the Roman women had sleeves.

50 6 **brachia ac lacertos**: 'fore arm and upper arm.'

CHAPTER XVIII

50 8 **Quamquam**: 'and yet,' in spite of the possible implication in the preceding remark.

50 11 **plurimis nuptiis**: dative. As an example, Ariovistus had two wives, one of his own nation, the other sent by her brother, the king of the Noricans (Caes. *B. G.* 1, 53).

50 12 **ambiuntur**: these men were solicited by fathers as husbands for their daughters. But the expression here — *nuptiis ambiuntur* — is used with a highly rhetorical coloring as the equivalent of *uxores habent* (see Furneaux), perhaps in imitation of Vergil's *ne . . . connubiis ambire Latinum Aeneadae possint* (*Aen.* 7, 333). — **Dotem**: the *dos* of the Romans was strictly a 'marriage portion,' brought by the wife to the husband on marriage. The *dos* here mentioned, which retained this name in medieval usage, is just the opposite; it was a price paid by the husband to the parents of the wife, in whose *manus* (*mundium*) she was, for the dissolution of this authority, or rather its transference to him.

50 13 **propinqui**: a sort of family council, in which the new family relations were founded.

50 16 **scutum cum framea gladioque**: see on *Tum*, etc., ch. 13, 23.

50 17 **In haec munera**: 'in reference to these gifts.' — **invicem . . . adfert**: Tacitus probably mistakes the sword which was handed over

by the bride's father to her husband, as symbolic of control, for the gift of the bride to her husband.

50 18 **hoc . . . haec . . . hos:** notice the attraction of all these demonstratives to agree with their appositives.

50 19 **haec arcana sacra, hos coniugales deos:** the ceremony just described took the place, among the Germans, of the formal marriage ceremony among the Romans, the *confarreatio* (*arcana sacra*), and the presence of deities, Jupiter, Juno Pronuba, Hymenaeus etc. (*coniugales deos*).

50 21 **auspiciis:** every important undertaking was preceded by the taking of auspices, hence the derived meaning of the word 'beginning,' in which sense it is here used pleonastically with *incipientis matrimonii*.

50 26 **quae . . . accipiant . . . rursusque . . . referantur:** *quae* stands in a double relation, as object of *accipiant* and subject of *referantur*. This is a rare construction. Another example of it is found in the *Annals*, 2, 83: *quaedam statim omissa sunt, aut vetustas oblitteravit*.

CHAPTER XIX

50 28 **saepta pudicitia:** 'with well-guarded modesty.' — **spectaculorum . . . conviviorum:** the indecencies of the public shows, and the familiarities and excitements of conviviality.

50 29 **Litterarum secreta:** 'clandestine correspondence,' 'billets doux.' That the whole art of writing was a secret undiscovered by the Germans is disproved by references to letters from their chiefs to the Roman government (*Ann.* 2, 88).

50 31 **poena praesens et maritis permissa:** the authority of the man over his wife and children was similar to that of the Roman *paterfamilias*, but not so extensive and well defined.

51 2 **Publicatae . . . pudicitiae:** 'unchastity,' in general.

51 3 **maritum:** sc. *alterum*.

51 5 **saeculum:** 'the spirit of the times.' — **adhuc** = *etiam*. — **eae civitates:** implying that it was not a universal practice among them.

51 7 **semel transigitur:** 'are done with once for all.' Cf. *Agr.* 34, *transigite cum expeditionibus*.

51 9 **ne tamquam maritum,** etc.: i.e., their love is not placed upon the man to whom they are united, but upon the married state, which, once entered upon, is perpetual for them even after the husband's death.

51 11 **Numerum liberorum,** etc.: the German father had, like the Roman *paterfamilias*, power of life and death over his children, and in this was included, at least in later times, the right of exposing and thus putting to death new-born children; but this legal power was limited by

public opinion, *boni mores*. — **adgnatis**: not in its legal sense of descendants in the male line, but in the popular meaning, 'after-born children'; i.e., born *post familiam constitutam*, when the inheritance is already determined and an heir exists whose rights would be disturbed.

51 13 **alibi**: i.e., particularly in Rome.

CHAPTER XX

51 13 **nudi**: see on ch. 6, 4.

51 14 **sordidi**: 'shabby,' especially in clothing; that they were not dirty is shown by their regular baths (ch. 22). There would not, however, be a necessary contradiction here even if *sordidi* were taken to mean 'dirty,' for in ch. 22 it is especially the grown people who are mentioned (see Gudeman ad loc.).

51 16 **ancillis**: Tacitus, *Dial.* 29, laments this custom among the Romans: *nunc natus infans delegatur Graeculae alicui ancillae.* — **Dominum ac servum**: this describes the mild and patriarchal type of slavery found in early society.

51 17 **deliciis**: 'luxuries,' in their bringing up (*educationis*).

51 18 **aetas separet**: cf. ch. 13. The ceremonies marking the entrance upon manhood belonged only to the free-born.

51 19 **virtus adgnoscat**: 'Virtue claims them (the *ingenui*) as her own'; i.e., the free-born show the qualities implied in *virtus* more than do the slaves.

The climax in the list of qualities ascribed to *virtus* by Lucilius (Lact. 6, 5, 2) is:

> *commoda praeterea patriai prima putare,*
> *deinde parentum, tertia iam postremaque nostra.*

51 20 **festinantur**: i.e., into marriage. — **eadem iuventa**: i.e., their bringing up does not differ from that of the young men.

51 21 **miscentur**: 'marry.'

51 23 **Sororum filiis**: this close relation between the nephew and his uncles on his mother's side is frequently observed among primitive nations. Inheritance is often in the same line; not, however, among the Germans, as is shown by the expression *heredes . . . sui cuique liberi*, etc. The Latin name of the uncle on the mother's side, *avunculus*, 'little grandfather,' points to the same condition of things. This usage is generally explained by the promiscuous intercourse and uncertainty of parentage among savages; but among Aryan nations it appears to be because after the father's death the sister came under the guardianship of the brother.

51 24 **Quidam:** 'certain German tribes.'

51 28 **nullum testamentum:** this is the universal custom among primitive peoples; see Maine, *Ancient Law*, ch. 6.

51 29 **fratres, patrui, avunculi:** i.e., inheritance was in the male line in preference to the female.

51 30 **propinquorum:** 'blood relations,' contrasted with *adfinium*, 'connections by marriage'; *propinquus* is, however, a word of more general meaning, indicating any close relation, whether of kinship, neighborhood, or obligation.

51 32 **orbitatis:** in Rome, childless old men and women received very special attentions from fortune-hunters, in the hope of being remembered in their wills. As Horace says (*Epist.* 1, 1, 77):

> *sunt qui*
> *crustis et pomis viduas venentur avaras*
> *excipiantque senes, quos in vivaria mittant.*

CHAPTER XXI

51 32 **Suscipere,** etc.: this right of feud was a natural outgrowth of the institution of the family, not based upon the right of inheritance, but developed side by side with it.

52 2 **luitur:** this is the *wergeld* of later times (*satisfactio = compositio*). It will be noticed that it went to the family, not its head or representative: *recipit satisfactionem universa domus.*

52 4 **utiliter in publicum:** this commutation of the blood-feud into a money payment was of advantage for the public peace.

52 5 **iuxta:** 'in connection with': a usage of silver Latin.

52 7 **hospitiis:** 'entertainment of strangers.' Compare Caesar, *B. G.* 6, 23: *hospitem violare fas non putant; qui quacumque de causa ad eos venerunt, ab iniuria prohibent, sanctosque habent; hisque omnium domus patent victusque communicatur.*

52 10 **Cum defecere:** 'when they (the feasts) have ended.' This appears to refer to the old German custom of not extending this right of hospitality longer than three days. — **hospes:** 'host.' — **monstrator hospitii:** 'a guide to further hospitality.'

52 14 **moris:** sc. *est.*

52 15 **facilitas:** 'readiness.'

52 16 **imputant:** a business term, 'charge' to the credit of the donors, i.e., consider as imposing an obligation. — **Victus,** etc.: this sentence sums up the contents of the chapter, but is so weak and ineffective that many editors omit or bracket it.

CHAPTER XXII

52 18 **plerumque:** agrees with *diem.* — **in diem:** the Romans, as is well known, were early risers; this chapter, indeed, contains a number of contrasts between German and Roman manners. See Introd. p. 39.

52 19 **calida:** Caesar, however, says of the Suebi (*B. G.* 4, 1): *ut locis frigidissimis . . . lavarentur in fluminibus*, and of the Germans in general (6, 21), *promiscue in fluminibus perluuntur.* Warm baths were common among the Germans in the middle ages. — **plurimum:** sc. *temporis* or *anni.*

52 21 **sua cuique mensa:** this probably means that, like most half-civilized people, they ate by themselves and where they pleased, not at a common table. The same custom prevailed in the Homeric ages as described in the *Odyssey*, 17, 333.

52 22 **Diem noctemque continuare:** 'turn day and night into one.'

52 24 **raro conviciis:** a strong contrast to the more southern nations, with whom a slight dispute is argued with loud words and violent gestures.

52 25 **transiguntur:** 'are brought to an end'; see on *transigitur*, ch. 19, 26.

52 26 **asciscendis principibus:** this expression has been much debated, but appears to refer to the election of the magistrates referred to in ch. 12; these banquets were a sort of caucus for the discussion of candidates, as well as other matters of public interest, *de pace . . . et bello*, and also family alliances, *iungendis adfinitatibus.* It is to be noticed that the election was not made for a limited time, but for life, or at least for as long as the person possessed the requisite strength and vigor (Waitz, vol. 1, p. 271); for this reason the word *ascisco*, denoting properly the reception into a body of men, or corporation, is precisely in place. Some, however, regarding *ascisco* as inappropriate in such a connection, understand it of the relation between *principes* and *comites.*

52 28 **tamquam:** 'on the ground that.' See on ch. 12, 12.

52 29 **simplices:** 'open-hearted.'

52 30 **adhuc:** qualifies *secreta.*

52 32 **retractatur:** 'the matter is reconsidered.' — **salva utriusque temporis ratio est:** 'each time receives due consideration.' *Temporis* is objective genitive.

CHAPTER XXIII

53 3 **frumento,** sc. *tritico:* 'wheat.'

53 4 **corruptus:** 'fermented.'

53 6 **lac concretum**: not cheese (*caseus*), but 'curds.' — **apparatu**: 'elegance in serving.' — **blandimentis**: i.e., spices, etc.

CHAPTER XXIV

53 13 **infestas**: i.e., pointed towards them.

53 15 **quamvis**: qualifies *audacis*, a common usage with Tacitus. See on *quamquam*, *Agr.* 1, 1.

53 16 **quod mirere**: 'a matter of surprise': *quod* relates to the clause *alam . . . exercent*. Among the Romans games of chance were only allowed in festivities etc. Cf. Cic. *Cat. Mai.* 58, where playing with dice is regarded as the special pastime of men who are old, and therefore not expected to devote their attention to more important things, *seria*.

53 18 **extremo ac novissimo**: 'the decisive final throw.'

53 19 **contendant (de)**: 'stake.'

53 20 **iuvenior**: this form is common in late Latin.

53 22 **pervicacia**: 'obstinacy'; also used in a good sense, 'firmness,' as by Accius (*Myrmidones*, fr. 1, Ribb; Non. 433, 1) who contrasts it with *pertinacia: haec* (*pervicacia*) *fortes sequitur, illam* (*pertinaciam*) *indocti possident*. — **fidem**: 'honor.'

53 23 **per commercia tradunt**: 'trade off.' — **ut se quoque . . . exsolvant**: to hold slaves obtained in the way just described would be a cause of shame to the master as well as the slaves.

CHAPTER XXV

53 25 **Ceteris servis**: these were serfs, bound to the soil and to labor, but otherwise free, like the Roman *colonus*. Each had his home and assigned lot of land, for which he paid in produce and other articles, a very mild form of servitude, strongly contrasted with the excessive cruelty of Roman household slavery. — **discriptis per familiam ministeriis**: the Roman household had a large number of slaves, each with his duties precisely and minutely defined.

53 28 **ut colono**: in that he paid rent in kind to the owner of the land, this comparison holds good for the Roman *colonus*, or free tenant-farmer, of Tacitus' own day. In other respects the German serf compares properly only with the Roman *colonus* of a much later time. — **hactenus**: 'only so far': probably this expression, as *ut colono* above, is somewhat exaggerated.

54 1 **Raro aliquod momentum**, etc.: a marked contrast to the

condition of things in Rome, where noble houses and even the empire itself were controlled by freedmen.

54 2 **iis gentibus quae regnantur:** this shows that not all nations were ruled by kings; the royal governments were, as will be seen, chiefly in the north and east of Germany.

54 4 **impares libertini:** 'the fact that the freedmen are inferior,' a common usage with participles, and not unusual with adjectives.

CHAPTER XXVI

54 6 **Faenus agitare:** not 'lend on interest,' but 'deal in money,' as a business. Cf. *Ann.* 6, 16. *In usuras extendere* is to continue the interest to compound interest, by adding interest to principal (SSS.), or simply to put out capital at interest (Mhf.).

54 7 **servatur:** sc. *abstinentia a faenore agitando*, or *faenus non agitare*. — **vetitum esset:** i.e., by law. The subject of *vetitum esset* is *faenus agitare*.

54 8 **Agri pro numero cultorum,** etc.:

This passage may be freely rendered as follows: 'It is their practice to have their lands taken into possession by communities turn by turn, in amounts proportioned to the number of their members, and afterwards to share these out among the members according to rank. The wide extent of the tracts occupied makes this division easy: they change the fields in cultivation every year, and there is land left over.'

This difficult passage is the subject of more controversy than any other in the book, but finds its best explanation by comparison with a passage in Caesar (*B. G.* 6, 22), describing essentially the same condition of things: *magistratus ac principes in annos singulos gentibus cognationibusque hominum, qui una coierunt, quantum et quo loco visum est agri attribuunt atque anno post alio transire cogunt.* Compare also *B. G.* 4, 1, and Horace's description of the Getae (*Od.* 3, 24, 14): *nec cultura placet longior annua.* Tacitus' description is not so explicit: the expression *occupantur*, 'are taken into possession,' is the correlative of *attribuunt*, 'assign,' and the use of the present tense, describing a custom, corresponds to Caesar's statement, that the occupants are obliged to take another piece of land the next year. But Tacitus says nothing of the magistrates in connection with it, nor does he limit the occupation to one year; indeed, the context would imply an occupation of more than one year. On the other hand, Tacitus adds the important statement that after the occupation they share out the lands, *partiuntur*, among themselves, a statement directly opposed to Caesar's: *neque quisquam agri modum certum aut fines habet proprios;* and again (4, 1), *privati ac separati agri apud eos nihil est.* Tacitus appears, therefore, to describe a condition of things somewhat further advanced than Caesar's. In Caesar's time the Germans were hardly advanced beyond the nomadic stage, and their clans and families merely received yearly assignments of land for occupation and rude cultivation. In Tacitus' time, one hundred and fifty years later, the assignments were probably made for longer periods

of time, and always within the limits of a definite territorial district. At any rate the tracts of land thus assigned were divided among the individuals. Moreover, it does not appear that the occupation was necessarily by clans founded upon kinship. This would indicate a decided advance from nomadic life; not yet permanent habitations, or private property in land — probably not even collective *property* in land — but already separate households, with separate lots of land and individual cultivation. It should be noticed further that Caesar says (6, 22): *agriculturae non student, maiorque pars eorum victus in lacte, caseo, carne consistit*, a clear description of pastoral life; while the description of Tacitus shows that considerable attention was paid to agriculture, although at a low stage: *sola terra seges imperatur*. Compare also the mention of barley and wheat, chs. 23 and 25.

The general features of the description are, therefore, clear and intelligible; there remain, however, some perplexities in single words. *Cultorum* may denote peasants or farmers; is probably, however, used as in ch. 28, for inhabitants, meaning the members of the group, whether a clan or otherwise, who occupied a distinct tract of land. The occupation by a definite group of persons is clearly implied in the expression *ab universis*, which is regularly used to denote a number of individuals composing a united whole. *Universis* properly requires a noun with it, probably *cultoribus*, to be supplied from *cultorum*. The phrase *secundum dignationem* has also been variously interpreted. Probably the obvious rendering, 'according to their rank,' is the correct one, *dignatio* meaning nobility, office, and other grounds of distinction, although here too, as in ch. 13, it may have an active meaning, 'according to estimate,' whether of man or of land. This again would imply a change since Caesar's time, for Caesar says distinctly that all had an equal share: *cum suas quisque opes cum potentissimis aequari videat* (*B. G.* 6, 22).

54 10 **camporum spatia** is not 'the wide stretches of plain,' which it might mean, but 'the great extent of the fields' occupied by the several communities.

54 11 **Nec enim,** etc.: this is one of Tacitus' pregnant constructions, 'they do not enter into a contest with the productiveness of the soil,' in order to extort as much from it as possible. The causal conjunction relates to the description that precedes; this system of shifting occupation and culture is adopted because they do not enter, etc.

54 12 **labore**: ablative of means: the *ut* clauses explain the purpose of *contendunt*.

54 14 **sola . . . seges**: 'the corn crop alone.' — **terrae,** dative after *imperatur*.

54 16 **autumni . . . nomen**: e.g., in English the names *Spring, Summer, Winter* are of Germanic origin; *Autumn* is Latin.

CHAPTER XXVII

This chapter also contains customs strongly contrasted to those of the Romans.

54 19 **crementur:** the custom of burning the dead was abolished in the time of Charles the Great.

54 21 **Sepulcrum caespes erigit:** a highly rhetorical figure (see Introd. p. 35), commonly thought to be an imitation of Sen. *Epist.* 8, 5: *hanc (domum) utrum caespes erexerit, an varius lapis gentis alienae nihil interest.*

54 23 **gravem:** in its physical meaning; cf. Ovid (*Am.* 3, 9, 68): *sit humus cineri non onerosa tuo*, and many extant Roman epitaphs.

54 25 **ponunt;** 'lay aside' like *deponunt.*

54 27 **accepimus:** indicating the nature of Tacitus' sources. See Introd. p. 37.

54 28 **quatenus:** 'in so far as,' an unusual meaning in Tacitus, who everywhere else (except in ch. 42 of the *Germania*) uses it as = *quoniam.*

CHAPTER XXVIII

54 31 **divus Iulius:** Caesar says (*B. G.* 6, 24): *fuit antea tempus, cum Germanos Galli virtute superarent, ultro bella inferrent, propter hominum multitudinem agrique inopiam trans Rhenum colonias mitterent.* — **etiam Gallos . . . transgressos:** referring back to *quae nationes . . . commigraverint.* I.e., at present it is the Germans that invade Gaul; formerly it was the other way. As a matter of fact, however, the Gauls in Germany were probably not invaders, but a remnant left behind in their migration.

55 1 **Quantulum:** adv. acc.

55 3 **promiscuas adhuc:** 'still common.'

55 4 **Hercyniam silvam Rhenumque et Moenum amnes:** for the pairing of these words see on *Gallis Raetisque et Pannonia*, ch. 1, 1. 'Hercynian Forest' was a general name for the great mountain range stretching easterly from the country of the Chatti (Hesse, ch. 30) to the Carpathians, north of Hungary. It includes, therefore, all the ranges which surround Bohemia; the Marcomani, who certainly occupied Bohemia, are said by Velleius Paterculus (2, 108) to have occupied *incinctos Hercynia silva campos.* The territory here described by Tacitus is easily identified by a glance at the map. The Rhine, the Main (which runs west into the Rhine), and the *Böhmerwald* (forming the western boundary of Bohemia), form a rude quadrangle, embracing the northern part of Bavaria and portions of Würtemberg, Baden, and Hesse Darmstadt, which was the territory formerly occupied by the Helvetians. Beyond the *Böhmerwald*, *ulteriora*, was the home of the Boii, *Boihaemum*, from which they had been expelled by the Marcomani (ch. 42).

55 8 **mutatis cultoribus:** The Marcomani occupied the region at this time. — **Aravisci:** the Aravisci lived in Hungary, to the southwest of the sharp bend of the Danube above Buda-Pesth.

55 9 **Germanorum natione:** the Osi lived on the confines of Moravia and Hungary, a part of *Germania*, in the geographical sense of the word as used by Tacitus. In ch. 43 we learn that they were not of German race, but Pannonian; that is, a branch of the Illyrian race.

55 11 **incertum est:** the latter of the two hypotheses is probably correct. The great mass of Pannonians lived on the right bank of the Danube. If the Aravisci were an offshoot of the Osi, the other Pannonians must have been (Mhf.; SSS.).

55 12 **olim:** i.e., before their migration. They were free and poor then, and had neither bettered their condition nor made it worse. — **inopia** and **libertate:** ablative absolute. — **utriusque ripae:** i.e., of the Danube; the Aravisci lived on its right bank. See above, on l. 8.

55 13 **Trevĕri et Nervii:** he here passes to the subject proposed in the last chapter, *quae nationes ex Germania in Gallias commigravcrint.* Both these tribes are familiar from Caesar's *Gallic War;* the Treveri have also left their name to the modern city of Treves (*Augusta Trevcrorum*), in Rhenish Prussia; the Nervii lived in central Belgium. Like all the Belgian tribes (see Caes. *B. G.* 2, 4) they claimed a German origin, and may be assumed to have been at all events partly German. Strabo (4, 3, 4, 194) says distinctly that the Nervii were Γερμανικόν ἔθνος; but of the nation of the Treveri, Caesar [Hirtius] only says (*B. G.* 8, 25): *cultu et feritate non multum a Germanis differebat*, while Tacitus (*Hist.* 4, 74) speaks of them as Gallic. — **circa:** 'in respect to,' a post-Augustan meaning.

55 14 **originis** limits *adfectationem.* — **ultro ambitiosi:** 'unreasonably ambitious.'

55 16 **haud dubie** (qualifies *Germanorum*): the nations previously mentioned were of doubtful nationality. The four nations here enumerated held the left bank of the Rhine; the Ubii about Cologne, the Vangiones about Worms, the Nemetes about Speyer, the Triboci about Strasburg. All of these are mentioned by Caesar, and the three last were among the followers of Ariovistus.

55 18 **Ubii:** These were the first Germans who entered into friendly relations with Rome. As early as B.C. 55 they allied themselves with Caesar (*B. G.* 4) against the powerful Suebi. They were afterwards, B.C. 39, removed across the Rhine, where they received lands, standing in a relation to the empire somewhat like that of the *Laeti* of the later empire, rendering military service (*ut arcerent*) in return for their lands

A.D. 50 a Roman colony was founded in their territories, called *Colonia Agrippinensis* (Cologne), from Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus and mother of Nero. The masculine form, *conditor*, is used here for a woman; it is possible, however, though not probable, that it refers, not to Agrippina, from whom the colony was named, but her grandfather Agrippa, who moved the people across the Rhine.

55 19 **meruerint:** for the subj. with *quamquam* see A. & G. 527, *e*; B. 309, 6; G. 605, 3, N.; H. 586, I, 2.

55 21 **experimento fidei:** ablative of cause, 'because of their proved fidelity,' not 'as a test of their fidelity.'

CHAPTER XXIX

Having spoken of the four German tribes within the limits of the two provinces of Germany, on the left bank of the Rhine, he proceeds to speak of the Batavians, next below the Ubii, but occupying principally the delta of the Rhine, southern Holland, with only a little of the bank, *non multum ex ripa*. These, too, were subjects of Rome, *pars Romani imperii*. Caesar also (*B. G.* 4, 10) says that the Rhine *insulam efficit Batavorum*.

55 25 **Chattorum:** see ch. 30. Nothing is known of this migration from any other source, but Tacitus repeats the statement, *Hist.* 4, 12, giving them, however, *extrema Gallicae orae vacua cultoribus simulque insulam iuxta vada sitam*.

55 27 **antiquae societatis:** see *Agr.* ch. 36. This old alliance did not, however, prevent unjust aggressions on the part of the Romans, which led to the dangerous uprising of Civilis, A.D. 69, narrated by Tacitus in the fourth book of his *Histories*.

55 28 **contemnuntur:** 'treated with indignity.' This passage describes perfectly the condition of the *Laeti* (see on *Ubii*, ch. 28, 18), holding their lands from the empire on the tenure of military service.

55 32 **Mattiăcorum:** they inhabited the modern Nassau, on the right bank of the Rhine, and of the Main. In the revolt under Civilis, they united with the Chatti and Batavi, but returned afterwards to their allegiance. The mention of these completes the enumeration of the tribes subject to the empire.

56 3 **agunt:** to be taken, by zeugma, with both *in sua ripa* and *mente animoque*. They 'dwell upon' their own side of the river, but 'act' in harmony with the Romans (on the other side).

56 4 **ipso adhuc terrae suae solo:** the fact that they, unlike the Batavians, still (*adhuc*) inhabit their native soil, inspires them with a keener courage. Or, taking *adhuc* with *acrius*, the nature of their

country (a high plateau with invigorating climate) is supposed to give them even more vigor than the Batavians have.

56 8 **Decumātes agros:**

This is the corner of Germany lying between the Rhine and the upper course of the Danube, now comprising the principal part of Baden and Würtemberg. This was a part of the territory formerly occupied by the Helvetians, and left vacant when they migrated to Switzerland; it was then occupied by poor settlers, and afterwards fortified and made a part of the empire. The frontier of the empire at this point presented no natural defences; it was therefore necessary to construct a *limes* (see on *limite* in the *Agricola*, ch. 41, 16), or artificial line of fortifications, such as the Romans constructed in many places, notably in Britain. This *limes* was begun by Domitian, and finished by his successors; it was, therefore, in process of construction at just about the time that the *Germania* was written, A.D. 98. It was in two parts. That which ran from the Rhine, near the mouth of the Lahn in Nassau, to a point near Lorch in Würtemberg, was, at any rate in later times, an earth wall with a ditch, and strengthened with palisades; the eastern end, reaching from Lorch to the Danube west of Ratisbon, was a wall of stone. Extensive remains of both are still extant. Fortifications also extended along the Rhine above the mouth of the Lahn. This *limes* presented a formidable obstacle to German invasion, and formed the boundary of the empire until the Allemanians forced their way across it in the fourth century, and converted the Agri Decumates into German territory, known as Swabia (from *Suebi*).

The name *Decumates Agri* (the word *decumates* does not occur elsewhere) is probably identical in meaning with *Agri Decumani*, used by Cicero (*Verr. Act.* 2, 3, 6, 13) and designating land held of the state upon the payment of a tenth of the produce. The relation of the word *decumates* to *decumus* in this case would be the same as that of *supernas* to *supernus*. See Gudeman. For a full description of the *Limes*, and its influence upon civilization, see Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, vol. 1, ch. 4; F. Koepp, *die Römer in Deutschland*, (Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1912) p. 54 ff.

56 9 **dubiae possessionis:** i.e., they occupied it before its possession was fully secured; they were therefore exposed to raids from the German tribes. — **occupavere:** like the modern 'squatter.'

56 10 **limite acto:** *limes* here is the fortified boundary line. See above on *Decumates agros*. — **sinus imperii:** cf. ch. 1, 4.

56 11 **provinciae:** partly of Upper Germany, partly of Raetia. This debatable land had no formal organization, but was held under military law, the commanders of the troops being under the authority of the governors of the two adjoining provinces. It was probably in Domitian's time that it became *pars provinciae*.

CHAPTER XXX

56 12 **Chatti:** with these begins the enumeration of the independent German tribes. Caesar does not mention them by name, but may

intend to include them in the Suebi. They occupied the territory just beyond the *limes*, north of the Main, still known by the name of Hesse (etymologically identical with *Chatti*), perhaps the only part of Germany, except Friesland, in which population and name have remained essentially unchanged from the time of Augustus until now. — **ab Hercynio saltu:** i.e., the mountain region just east of the Rhine and north of the Main. The Hessians occupied this whole tract, north of them being the flat lands of Westphalia, *effusis ac palustribus locis*, inhabited by the tribes mentioned in chs. 32 and 33.

56 14 **durant siquidem colles,** etc.: this is an obscure passage, but the difficulty appears to lie in its elliptical character. Both verbs, *durant* and *rarescunt*, probably apply at once to the Chatti and the mountains; 'they continue as long as the hills continue, gradually becoming sparse as the hills grow less.'

Mhf. and others take only *colles* as subject of *durant* and *rarescunt*, and would translate 'since the hills continue (throughout their territory), gradually diminish in number, and the Hercynian Forest at the same time conducts its Chatti and leaves them (on the plains).' This sentence is an extreme example of the rhetoric which characterizes the *Germania* in general. See Introd. p. 35.

56 16 **simul atque:** not 'as soon as,' but = *et . . . et*. So also ch. 34, 15. — **deponit:** 'lays down,' used figuratively as 'takes leave of.'

56 19 **electos:** as in ch. 12, 17, for elected officers. The emphasis falls upon this word, 'choose with care the officers whom they obey.' The whole following passage has reference to military discipline.

56 20 **ordines** (sc. *militares*): 'ranks,' referring in general to the organization of the army. — **occasiones:** i.e., of attack, ambuscade, and other military operations; it is explained further by *differre impetus*.

56 21 **disponere diem:** 'divide the day off' into its appropriate works. — **vallare noctem:** 'make the night secure by fortifications.'

56 23 **ratione:** most editors here read *Romanae*, for which there is also good MS. authority. See Appendix. *Ratione*, however, certainly makes best sense, 'by systematic discipline.' Moreover, the present is a case in point, that it was possible under some other discipline than the Roman.

56 25 **copiis:** 'supplies of food,' etc.

56 26 **Rari** qualifies *pugna* as well as *excursus*.

56 27 **Equestrium sane virium,** etc.: explaining *rari excursus*, etc., in relation to *omne robur in pedite*.

56 29 **iuxta:** 'nearly allied to.'

CHAPTER XXXI

56 30 **usurpatum** agrees with the infinitives *submittere* and *exuere*. Render: 'the usage practised among,' etc. Cf. *usitatum*, *Agr.* 1, 2.

56 31 **privata cuiusque audentia:** abl. of cause, 'as a result of personal daring.' — **in consensum vertit:** 'has become a general one.'

The custom here described is illustrated in the case of Civilis, who, in his rebellion, took a similar vow, and did not cut his hair until he had accomplished the slaughter of the Roman legions (see *Hist.* 4, 61). It is also illustrated by the special distinction of the 'long-haired kings,' *reges criniti*, of the Merovingian Franks. The remark, therefore, that this *squalor* belongs especially to *ignavis et imbellibus* is probably unwarranted. We have here three distinct statements: the vow to keep the hair unshorn, the custom of wearing the ring, and the special honors and privileges enjoyed by those who thus set themselves apart. They are described as a kind of aristocracy, who received their support from the other members of the tribe.

57 1 **votivum obligatumque virtuti:** 'vowed and consecrated to heroism.'

57 3 **pretia nascendi rettulisse:** 'given due return for the privilege of birth.'

57 5 **squalor:** i.e., the rough appearance due to unclipped hair and beard.

57 6 **ignominiosum id genti:** i.e., in other relations, as a sign of servitude; e.g., of debtor to creditor. It is suggested that the usage here described was symbolical of consecration to their god of war, Wodan (SSS.).

57 8 **absolvat:** i.e., from his pledge. — **Plurimis:** superlative of eminence, 'very many.' — **hic placet habitus:** i.e., so that they continue to wear the long hair and the ring even after they have fulfilled the vow in token of which they assumed them. — **iamque canent:** i.e., they remain so long in this condition, *ut iam caneant*, etc.

57 11 **nova,** 'strange.' — **nam:** this explains *semper*, not *nova*. Even in peace they are ready to serve.

CHAPTER XXXII

57 16 **certum iam alveo:** Tacitus speaks as if he supposed that the Rhine in its upper courses was an inconsiderable and shifting stream, not sufficient to form a boundary. Cf. Mela 3. 2, 24.

57 17 **Usīpi ac Tenctēri:** these occupied the right bank of the Rhine below Coblentz, in the territory formerly occupied by the Sugambri. They afterwards moved to the south, and became the nucleus of the powerful confederacy of the Alemanni.

57 22 **Inter:** cf. *inter seria*, ch. 24. — **familiam et penates:** i.e., the slaves and the household equipment.

57 23 **iura successionum:** 'rights of inheritance.'

57 24 **maximus natu:** nothing is known from any other source of any right of primogeniture among the Germans, and this statement is too vague to found an argument upon (Waitz, vol. 1, p. 66). It will be noticed that nothing is said of any such right in ch. 20, and it may have been peculiar to the Tencteri. See, on Germanic rules of inheritance, Young, *Anglo-Saxon Family Law*, p. 132; Fustel de Coulanges, *Recherches sur quelques problèmes d'histoire*, vol. 1, ch. 5.

CHAPTER XXXIII

57 25 **Iuxta:** this seems to mean 'by the side of,' i.e., away from the river. The Usipi and Tencteri dwelt upon the Rhine, the Bructeri northeast of them, about the modern city of Münster. The prophetess Veleda (ch. 8), who was so prominent in the insurrection of Civilis, belonged to this tribe. The report of their destruction must have been greatly exaggerated. They were not so utterly cut to pieces, *penitus excisis*, but that they are several times afterwards mentioned, and gave their name to the medieval Gau, *Borahtra*.

57 26 **Chamăvos et Angrivarios:** the Angrivarii lived upon the Weser about Minden, where they gave their name in the middle ages to the middle district of the Saxons, *Engern*. The Chamavi were probably southwest of them, in the neighborhood of Hamm northeast of the Batavi.

57 27 **penitus excisis:** nothing is known of this event from any other source. See above on *iuxta*, l. 25.

57 29 **ne spectaculo quidem proelii invidere:** i.e., they did not grudge (the Romans) even the sight of the battle. It is uncertain whether *spectaculo* is dat. or abl. Both cases are found with *invidere* in Silver Latin.

57 32 **oblectationi oculisque:** hendiadys, 'for a delight to their eyes.'

58 2 **urgentibus imperii fatis:** some interpret this as meaning that Tacitus apprehends the overthrow of the empire at the hands of the Germans. It is hardly likely, however, from the tone of the rest of the book, to have so specific an application as this. Gudeman quotes *Hist.* 4, 54: *possessionem rerum humanarum Transalpinis gentibus portendi superstitione vana Druidae canebant*, as indicating that not even a vague foreboding could have been felt at this time by Tacitus.

CHAPTER XXXIV

58 4 **a tergo:** this must mean to the south, i.e., farther up the Weser, since the Frisii, *a fronte*, were to the north.

58 6 **Frisii:** this nation, like the Chatti, have retained name (Friesland) and seats unaltered from that day to this. They inhabited the coast of the North Sea from the mouth of the Rhine to that of the Ems, *Amisia*. — **excipiunt:** 'follow.'

58 9 **ambiuntque:** 'live round about.' — **insuper:** i.e., in addition to the Rhine. — **lacus:** a portion of these inlets were, in 1282, converted by an inundation into the Zuyder Zee.

58 10 **illa,** sc. *parte*.

58 11 **superesse . . . vulgarit:** some sailor's story of cliffs rising out of the ocean; interpreted on the basis of the known pillars of Hercules at the Straits of Gibraltar (SSS.). See the mention of Hercules in ch. 3, 11.

58 14 **Druso Germanico:** Drusus, brother of Tiberius, received the name Germanicus, in virtue of his German victories. He is spoken of with the same cognomen *Hist.* 5, 19.

CHAPTER XXXV

58 19 **ingenti flexu:** this refers to the peninsula of Jutland.

58 20 **Chaucorum gens:** the description given of their residence is hard to understand. It is clear that they occupied the coast from the Frisians to the peninsula, but it is incredible that they could have extended along the frontiers of all these nations, *lateribus obtenditur*, so as to touch the Chatti. Probably the explanation is to be found in the next chapter. The space here described was occupied by the Cherusci and Fosi, who had sunk into a degraded condition. Tacitus does not say that they were under vassalage to the Chauci, but it seems probable, and the words *in latere Chaucorum Chattorumque*, ch. 36, may mean that they extended from the Chauci to the Chatti, whose domains may have been at least temporarily extended toward the south and north respectively. — **incipiat:** Tacitus is fond of using the subjunctive with both *quamquam* and *donec:* see next note and note on *quamquam . . . meruerint*, ch. 28, 18.

58 22 **sinuetur:** A. & G. 556, *a*, N; B. 293, III, I, *a*; G. 572, R. 1; H. 604, 2.

58 24 **populus . . . nobilissimus,** etc.: this encomium upon the Chauci appears to have been called out by their having been in alliance with the Romans. Pliny (*N. H.* 16, 1, 1, 2) describes the Chauci

as an eye-witness, as a miserable race of fishermen, living on a barren sea-coast — evidently only an outlying portion of the people. Velleius Paterculus (2, 106) speaks of *Chaucorum . . . iuventus, infinita numero, immensa corporibus, situ locorum tutissima.*

58 26 **impotentia:** 'want of self-control,' 'turbulence'; so in Horace, *Od.* 3, 30, 3, *Aquilo impotens.* — **secretique:** 'secluded.'

58 29 **quod . . . adsequuntur:** in apposition with *id.* — **ut superiores agant:** the clause is object of *adsequuntur*, and is equivalent to an abstract noun, 'their superiority.'

58 31 **plurimum**, etc.: in apposition with *exercitus.*

58 32 **eadem fama:** sc. *quae bellantibus.*

CHAPTER XXXVI

59 1 **Cherusci:** see on *Chaucorum gens*, ch. 35, 20. They dwelt between the Weser and Elbe, north of the Hartz mountains. This was the nation which, under Arminius, led the uprising against Rome, A.D. 9; afterwards they disappear from history, or perhaps are merged with the Chauci and Angrivarii in the new nation of the Saxons.

59 4 **impotentes:** 'turbulent'; see on *impotentia*, ch. 35, 26. — **quiescas:** general condition. B. 356, 3.

59 5 **modestia:** 'moderation.' — **nomina:** 'reputation,' i.e., the same qualities in the weak are given different names.

59 7 **in sapientiam:** i.e., its reputation. 'Their good fortune was counted as wisdom' (Furneaux).

59 8 **Fosi:** not elsewhere mentioned.

CHAPTER XXXVII

59 11 **sinum:** as in ch. 1, 'bend of land.' The peninsula of Jutland had its name, Cimbric Chersonesus, from this nation; Ptolemy places them at its northern end. The name is probably Celtic.

59 12 **gloria:** best taken as nominative.

59 13 **utraque ripa:** this must mean both banks of the same river, and this can hardly have been any but the Rhine, as that is the one regularly referred to when *ripa* is used by Tacitus.

59 14 **castra ac spatia:** hendiadys, 'the spaces occupied by their camps'; so *molem manusque:* 'magnitude of their forces.'

59 15 **tam magni exitus:** this refers to their migration into Italy, which ended with their defeat by Marius on the Raudian Fields, B.C. 101. See l. 31. — **fidem:** 'credibility.'

59 16 **Sescentesimum et quadragesimum annum:** it was really A.U.C. 641, B.C. 113. The second consulship of Trajan was A.D. 98, in which year the *Germania* was written.

59 21 **vincitur:** 'the conquest has been going on.' This appears to be the only direct reference in the *Germania* to contemporary military affairs. See Introd. p. 39.

59 23 **admonuere:** i.e., by disasters inflicted.

59 24 **Arsacis:** the name Arsaces was assumed by every king of Parthia, in honor of an alleged ancestor, just as Caesar was by every Roman emperor.

59 25 **caedem Crassi:** Marcus Crassus, the colleague of Pompey in the consulship (B.C. 70 and 55), received the government of the East as proconsul, but was defeated at Carrhae (B.C. 53), and afterwards killed. — **amisso et ipse Pacoro,** etc.: Pacorus, son of the Parthian king Orōdes, was defeated and killed by Ventidius, an officer of Mark Antony, B.C. 38. There is a touch of satire in the expression, as Ventidius had been in early life a mule-driver. For the ablative absolute *amisso Pacoro*, the English would use an active construction, 'the subjection of the East to Ventidius and that, too, after losing [its commander] Pacorus.'

59 26 **deiectus Oriens:** See A. & G. 497; B. 337, 6; G. 437, N. 2; H. 636, 4.

59 27 **Carbone,** etc.: all the five here mentioned were defeated by the Cimbri except Cassius, who was defeated and killed by the Tigurini (a Helvetian canton, therefore Gauls) B.C. 107; see Caes. *B. G.* 1, 12. The other disasters took place in the great Cimbrian invasion; Carbo's defeat was B.C. 113, the other three, 105.

59 29 **Varum:** this decisive victory of the Germans was A.D. 9.

59 30 **Caesari:** Augustus.

59 31 **C. Marius:** he gained great and decisive victories over the Teutones, B.C. 102, and the Cimbri, 101. The campaigns of Julius Caesar were during his Gallic War, B.C. 58 to 49; Drusus and his brother Tiberius (Nero) and son Germanicus conducted successful campaigns during the reign of Augustus; Germanicus also in that of Tiberius.

60 1 **Gaii Caesaris:** the emperor Caligula; see *Agr.* ch. 13.

60 2 **occasione discordiae nostrae:** this refers to the civil wars of A.D. 68 and 69, and to the revolt of the Batavian Civilis, described by Tacitus in the fourth and fifth books of the *Histories*.

60 4 **adfectavere:** 'aimed at' (i.e., the Germans).

60 5 **triumphati . . . sunt:** the fictitious triumph of Domitian, A.D. 84; see *Agr.* ch. 39.

Baumstark says of the historical sketch in this chapter, that 'it ranks among the most brilliant passages of the *Germania*.'

CHAPTER XXXVIII

60 6 **de Suebis:**

The Suebi of Tacitus present a puzzling problem. His description of them occupies eight chapters, ending *Hic Suebiae finis*, at the end of ch. 45. According to this, their confederacy embraced far more than half of the Germans, including as well the Suiones (ch. 44) of Sweden and the Aestii (ch. 45) of Livonia, as the Marcomani (ch. 42) of Bohemia and the Anglii (ch. 40) of Jutland. This is certainly not to be accepted without modification. Another puzzle arises from the fact that Caesar mentions the Suebi, as Tacitus does, as the greatest and most powerful nation of Germany, but places them farther to the west, where they came immediately in contact with the Romans. It is generally assumed that the Suebi of Caesar were the Chatti, whom he does not mention. Strabo, too (6, 1, 3, 290), says that they extended ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥήνου μέχρι τοῦ Ἄλβιος, and, in part, πέραν τοῦ Ἄλβιος, but mentions the Χάττοι independently. Mommsen's opinion (*Hist. of Rome*, Bk. 5, ch. 7) that *Suebi* was a general term, meaning 'the wandering people or nomads' (from *schweben*) is commonly accepted. It is certain that the Suebi of Tacitus comprise the less settled and civilized tribes, excluding only the more civilized nations of the west.

60 10 **obliquare crinem:** this appears to describe the custom of combing the hair back from every side, thus *sideways* for the most part, and twisting it in a knot on the crown. Sidonius Apollinaris describes as follows Theodoric the Visigoth: *capitis apex rotundus, in quo paululum a planitie frontis in verticem caesaries refuga crispatur.* See also Juvenal (13, 164), *Germani . . . flavam caesariem et madido torquentem cornua cirro.*

60 14 **rarum:** sc. *est*. i.e., *obliquare crinem*, etc. — **apud Suebos:** some editors take this passage as describing another mode of arranging the hair; it seems, however, to be only a repetition of that described before, introduced by way of emphasizing the contrast with other nations, and showing that it was kept up until old age.

60 15 **horrentem,** 'shaggy.' — **retro sequuntur:** a rhetorical way of saying that they *smooth* their hair *back*. Quint. (11, 3, 160) attributes the same effect to the drawing back of the hair: *a fronte contra naturam retroagere, ut sit horror ille terribilis.*

60 18 **in altitudinem** etc.: an extreme case of asyndeton. They adorn themselves not *ut ament amenturve*, 'but' etc.

60 19 **ut hostium oculis:** cf. *ut alienigenis*, ch. 43, 18.

CHAPTER XXXIX

60 22 **Semnŏnes:** these are supposed by some to have been the Suebi described by Caesar (but see on *de Suebis*, ch. 38, 6). They have an interesting later history. In 213 A.D. they appear on the Raetian boundary of the empire as *Alamanni*. They were known in still later times as Juthungi, and were the source of the Suebi or Swabians of modern history. They inhabited between the Elbe and the Oder, in Lower Lusatia, and northerly to the neighborhood of Berlin and Frankfurt. — **antiquitatis:** an objective genitive; 'the belief in their antiquity.'

60 23 **Stato tempore:** a regularly recurring anniversary; *statuto tempore* would imply a special appointment for the time.

60 24 **eiusdem sanguinis:** probably this refers to the entire body of the Suebi, inasmuch as this celebration, held among the Semnones, is the voucher for their rank as the most ancient tribe of the race. 'This assembly of the Nationality (*Stamm*) had,' says Sohm, 'no political functions, but only sacrificial.'

60 25 **legationibus** = *per legationes*. — **homine:** no doubt a captive. This usage would indicate a lower degree of civilization than that of the more westerly tribes.

60 26 **horrenda primordia:** it was in the opening rites that the terror existed.

60 27 **minor:** i.e., than the god.

60 28 **prae se ferens:** 'conspicuously indicating.'

60 29 **attolli** and **evolvuntur** are used reflexively, like the Greek middle.

60 30 **Eoque . . . respicit:** 'has reference to this'; explained by *tamquam*, etc.; cf. on *tamquam*, ch. 12, 13. It has the same force also in ch. 28, 15.

60 31 **initia gentis,** etc.: i.e., the god from whom they were sprung had his residence in this grove.

60 32 **Adicit auctoritatem:** 'adds authority' (power), i.e., to their sanctity.

61 1 **centum pagi:** so Caesar, *B. G.* 4, 1. — **magnoque corpore:** i.e., corporate extent and power.

CHAPTER XL

61 3 **Langobardos:** they lived on the left bank of the Lower Elbe, in the territory of Lüneburg, where their name is represented by the modern city of Bardewic. The name is variously explained, as *long*

beards and *long battle-axes*. They are the source of the Longobards or Lombards, who conquered Italy under Alboin, A.D. 568. — **plurimis ac valentissimis nationibus**: they, the Chauci on the west, the Cherusci on the south, and the Semnones on the east.

61 5 **Reudigni deinde**, etc.: as he has approached the Langobardi from the south, *deinde* would imply proceeding in the same direction; all these petty tribes are placed to the north, in Mecklenburg, Lauenburg, and the Cimbric peninsula. The Anglii are the only ones of importance, as it was they who conquered Britain and gave it the name England.

61 9 **terram matrem**: this is a Roman and uncertain interpretation of the name, derived probably from the resemblance of the procession and the bath to the worship of Magna Mater in Rome. The name *Nerthus* is probably a feminine form of *Njördr*, the Scandinavian god of the sea, father of *Freyr* and *Freya*, in whose worship some usages are traced similar to those here described.

61 10 **invehi populis** = *curru adire populos*, in a solemn progress.

61 11 **insula**: perhaps Alsen, off the eastern coast of Schleswig, where remains of a sanctuary have been discovered, perhaps the site of Hamburg, which was formerly an island (Mhf.). Rügen, with which it used to be identified, is evidently too far to the east.

61 13 **penetrali**: probably the sacred interior of the covered chariot.

61 15 **festa** (sc. *sunt*): 'in festal array.' — **adventu hospitioque**: 'her arrival as a guest,' a species of hendiadys.

61 19 **templo**: 'sacred precinct' (Gudeman).

61 20 **numen ipsum**: 'the goddess herself' (*si credere velis*), not her image, probably some symbol of her.

CHAPTER XLI

61 24 **secretiora**: 'more secluded,' i.e., 'more distant.'

61 26 **Hermundurorum**: these were afterwards the Thuringians; they inhabited the central region of Thuringia (the Saxon duchies), and extended southward to the Danube.

61 28 **in ripa**: sc. *Danuvii solum*.

61 29 **colonia**: this is Augusta Vindelicorum, the modern Augsburg. — **Passim**: i.e., wherever they please, not in one prescribed place, as was usual with barbarian nations.

61 32 **Albis oritur**: this statement is certainly incorrect. The Elbe rose in the country of the Marcomani. Either Tacitus was misinformed, or, as seems probable, the Saale, which does rise in Thuringia, was taken as the true Elbe.

62 1 **notum olim:** i.e., in the campaigns of Drusus (B.C. 9), Tiberius (A.D. 5), and others. Now these invasions had ceased.

CHAPTER XLII

62 3 **Naristi:** these lived upon the confines of Bavaria and Bohemia; the Marcomani in Bohemia, the Quadi in Moravia.

62 5 **ipsa etiam sedes,** etc.: the Marcomani were situated, in the time of Drusus, upon the river Main, and passed thence to Bohemia, where their king Maroboduus founded a powerful kingdom. Their chief importance was in later history; the wars of Marcus Aurelius with the Marcomani and Quadi were the beginning of that series of contests which ended with the overthrow of the empire. It should be noted that Mommsen regards this name too as a general appellative, 'frontiersmen.'

62 7 **quatenus . . . peragitur:** 'so far as it is formed (completed.)' Kritz-Hirschfelder compares with this expression the use of *agere* with *limes* (*limite acto*), ch. 29, 10.

62 10 **Tudri:** this king is not known from any other source; neither is anything known of the *externos reges* mentioned in the next sentence.

62 12 **nec minus valent:** i.e., than if we assisted them with arms. See also ch. 15.

CHAPTER XLIII

62 13 **Retro** evidently means 'behind,' from the point of view of the Danube, i.e., to the northeast. There is no improbability whatever in Tacitus' statement that the Cotini were Celts, a remnant of the primitive Celtic occupation. — **Marsigni,** etc.: these tribes, of various nationality, were in the mountain region north and east of Bohemia and Moravia.

62 19 **quo magis pudeat:** i.e., they should use it in making weapons with which to defend themselves against the impositions of their neighbors.

62 22 **continuum montium iugum:** this must be the Riesengebirge or the Carpathians. The tribes here mentioned were north of the Carpathians, in the country east of the Oder; none of them, however, except the Lugii, can be fixed with any certainty. These occupied the territory between the Oder and Vistula, in the modern provinces of Silesia, Posen, and Little Poland, and were probably ancestors of the Vandals and Burgundians (see Mhf. vol. 2, p. 4). The similarity of the name to the native name of the Poles, *Lech*, has given rise to Latham's view that the Lugii were Slavs, the ancestors of the modern Poles.

62 27 **muliebri ornatu**: probably long hair, and perhaps also a long robe. The royal family of the Vandals were the *Hasdinge*, 'men with women's hair,' and these priests, Mhf. suggests, may have belonged to this family.

62 30 **Alcis**: this is usually taken as a dative plural.

62 31 **tamen**: though they have no images, nevertheless they have an idea of the appearance of these deities.

62 32 **super vires . . . truces**: 'besides their strength . . . distinguished for ferocity,' etc.

63 1 **feritati**: dependent on *lenocinantur*, which = 'serve'; 'increase.'

63 2 **tempore**: explained by *atras ad proelia noctes legunt*. — **lenocinantur**: 'they enhance' their native savageness. — **tincta corpora**: the Britons stained their bodies, as is well known (Caes. *B. G.* 5, 14), but it is not related elsewhere of any Germanic nations.

63 3 **formidine atque umbra**: 'terror-inspiring and shadowy aspect.'

63 7 **Gotŏnes**: these are generally assumed to be the Goths, occupying modern Prussia, north of the Lugii, upon the shores of the Baltic, on the right bank of the Vistula; they moved afterwards to southern Russia. — **regnantur**: from this it would appear that most of the nations previously mentioned were not governed by kings. — **adductius**: 'more strictly.'

63 9 **Rugii et Lemovii**: these were in Pomerania between the Oder and the Vistula. The Rugii were on the left bank of the Vistula near its mouth. The Lemovii are mentioned only by Tacitus. It is remarkable that Tacitus omits all mention of the powerful Burgundians, who were either north of the Lugii, or are perhaps to be regarded merely as the northern division of that people (which would account for their omission by Tacitus), while the southern division consisted of the Vandilii (cf. Mhf. vol. 2, p. 91; Bremer, *Ethnographie*, p. 823). The terms *Lugii*, *Vandilii*, and *Burgundii* seem to have been somewhat loosely used by the classical writers in general.

63 10 **harum gentium**: this must refer only to the last mentioned tribes, Gotones, Rugii, and Lemovii.

CHAPTER XLIV

63 12 **Suionum**: this name is identical with that of the Swedes neither the *n* of the one nor the *d* of the other belonging to the root; the modern name is *Sue-rige*, 'the realm of the Swedes.' It appears that Tacitus considered Scandinavia an island, and that the people

of the north were as noted seamen in ancient times as in the middle ages.

63 14 **differt**: i.e., from the common Roman form, though it is recorded (*Ann.* 2, 6) that Germanicus used ships of this shape. — **utrimque . . . agit**: with the stern formed like the bow, like the modern life-boat. This is still the usual form of fishing-boats in Scandinavia, and the ancient custom is illustrated by a viking-boat discovered in 1880 in Norway. See an illustrated account of it in *Harper's Weekly*, Aug. 14, 1880, and the *Gartenlaube*, 1880, No. 29. See also Lindsay's *History of Merchant Shipping*, vol. 1, p. 336. — **adpulsui**: 'for landing.'

63 15 **nec remos**, etc.: this appears to refer to the *ordines remorum* of the Greek and Roman galleys. The *solutum . . . et mutabile remigium* may be the action of paddling, as in canoes, but this would not give force enough for boats to sail the ocean. Probably it refers to the use of thole-pins to hold the oars, instead of having them fastened by thongs or swivels to the sides of the boat, as was the custom among the Romans. For an interesting discussion of the revolution wrought by the Scandinavians in the art of navigation, see Burton's *History of Scotland*, vol. 1, p. 306; *Academy*, vol. 21, p. 428.

63 18 **Est . . . parendi**: this description of a strongly monarchical government is surprising, in the face of the generally democratic character of Germanic institutions, and especially those of the modern nations of Scandinavia, and is probably much exaggerated. Geijer, *Geschichte von Schweden*, vol. 1, p. 10, says that the kings exercised an authority resting upon religious sanction, which to a stranger might have the appearance of being absolute, but in reality was not. *Opes* is to be taken here not as 'riches' (so most editors), but 'power'; their high notion of power leads them to place supreme authority in the hands of one man.

63 19 **iam**: in this word lies a comparison with the other German nations which were under kings; these were still subject to some restrictions, *exceptionibus*. — **non precario**: 'not resting upon a concession.' In this word, too, lies a comparison with the royalty of the Germans proper. See ch. 7, 24: *nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas*.

63 25 **regia utilitas** = *regibus utilitati*.

CHAPTER XLV

63 26 **pigrum**: (see *Agr.* ch. 10); probably here means 'frozen,' i.e., in parts. It is called by Ptolemy *νεκρὸς ὠκεανός*, and by Pytheas (Strabo 1, 4, 2, 63) *πεπηγυῖα θάλασσα*, something like 'curdled.'

63 28 **extremus,** etc.: see also a description of the midnight sun in the *Agr.* ch. 12.

63 29 **sonum,** etc.: the fanciful description here given is probably derived from the accounts of the northern lights, combined with reminiscences of the Egyptian statue of Memnon and similar stories. Strabo (3, 1, 5, 138) quotes Posidonius as saying that the sun gives a hissing sound when setting off the west coast of Spain. The entire description — horses, and rays about the head — applies accurately to the conception of the sun-god.

63 30 **persuasio adicit:** 'the common opinion is.'

63 31 **Illuc . . . natura:** 'thus far and no farther, by true report, the world extends.' — **tantum** qualifies *illuc usque:* 'only so far'; as an ancient writer (Sen. Rhet. *Suas.* 1, 1) says: *post omnia Oceanus, post Oceanum nihil.*

63 32 **Ergo:** with this he returns from fable to description. — **dextro . . . litore:** this is the eastern coast of the Baltic, beyond Prussia, where the coast bends abruptly to the north. The Aestii were undoubtedly the same people who have given their name to the modern Esthonians. They were not of Germanic, but of Lithuanian race, allied to that of the modern Prussians. The statement that the language was similar to that of Britain must rest upon merely superficial resemblances. The name is probably derived from a Gothic word which means 'worthy of honor.' — **Suebici maris:** the Baltic Sea.

64 2 **Matrem deum:** see on *terram matrem,* ch. 40, 9.

64 3 **formas aprorum:** i.e., as amulets. Figures of boars were worn as amulets by the votaries of the *magna mater deum* in Rome.

64 4 **omniumque:** neuter. Objective genitive with *tutela.*

64 7 **laborant:** 'cultivate,' a sense in which this word is not used elsewhere.

64 8 **soli omnium:** at the present day amber is found on the coast of Prussia more abundantly than in the countries farther east; in ancient times also it was gathered by the Gotones (Plin. *N. H.* 37, 2, 11, 35), from which some have inferred that they were the same with the Aestii. — **glaesum:** the word carries the idea of lustre, or brilliance. Cf. glass, glare, from the same root.

64 10 **ut barbaris:** 'as one would expect of barbarians.'

64 13 **perfertur:** i.e. to Rome.

64 18 **lucosque:** sc. *esse.* — **secretis:** 'in the distant parts.'

64 20 **quae:** sc. *ea,* 'substances,' as antecedent, and as subject of *inesse,* of which the first subject is *nemora.*

64 23 **temptes:** see on *quiescas*, ch. 36, 4.

64 26 **Suiŏnibus . . . continuantur:** Tacitus passes here back to the western shore of the Baltic, north of the Swedes. Nothing is known of the Sitŏnes, but it is surmised that a Finnish people in this region, called *Cuenas*, are meant; the name being confounded with the Germanic *quen* (English *quean*), woman, and thus giving rise to the story that *femina dominatur*. The name *terra feminarum* is in later times found in use for this region. *Continuantur* is used in the middle sense, 'join.'

CHAPTER XLVI

64 30 **Peucinorum:** strictly this name probably belongs to a branch of the Bastarnae, but was applied to the whole people. They were situated upon the upper Vistula and lower Danube, the most remote of the Germanic tribes, and the earliest mentioned, as they are met in the time of Philip of Macedon. They are one of the five branches into which Pliny divides the Germans (see on *Ingaevones* ch. 2, 1). It appears from the present passage that they were a mixed race, by intermarriages with the Sarmatians, *conubiis mixtis*. — **Venedorum:** these must be taken to be the Wends, or Slavs; the name is familiar from the Wendic kingdom in Mecklenburg in the tenth and eleventh centuries. — **Fennorum:** this name is obviously that of the Finns. The description, however, does not apply to the Finns, a manly, intelligent race, but to the Lapps. The name may have been general for both branches of the Ugrian race, and be used by Tacitus only for the Lapps, while the true Finns are described under their tribal name, Sitones (ch. 45). The name is probably German, meaning 'Fen-people,' or derived from *finna* = 'wing on account of their use of snowshoes (Mhf.).

64 31 **Sarmătis:** under this term Tacitus appears to include Scythians (of Iranian origin), Tartars, and Slavs. It appears from this passage that he had no notion of the Slavonic race as such, but reckoned the Slavonians as belonging either to the Germans or the Sarmatians.

65 1 **Sordes omnium ac torpor procerum:** 'all are dirty, and the chiefs are lazy.'

65 3 **foedantur:** 'have deteriorated.' — **ex moribus:** sc. *Sarmatarum*.

65 5 **silvarum ac montium:** mostly the former, the great wooded plains of Poland and Russia.

65 7 **domos figunt:** 'they have fixed abodes.'

65 9 **in plaustro equoque viventibus:** a characteristic description of the customs of the Tartars. So Horace (*Od.* 3, 24, 9):

Scythae
quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos.

65 12 **quas . . . ossibus asperant:** 'which they tip with bone.'

65 16 **aliquo ramorum nexu:** i.e., wigwams.

65 18 **ingemere agris, inlaborare domibus:** 'groan over (work in the) fields and labor over (work in) houses.' The last verb was apparently coined by Tacitus to balance *ingemere*. — **domibus:** probably to be taken as dative, like *agris*. Others, however, explain it as ablative of place, on the ground that these three phrases describe the three forms of industry, *agricultura*, *opificium*, *mercatura*.

65 21 **illis:** the Fenni. — **voto:** ablative after *opus esset*. To have no need of prayer means to have no desires. Cf. Cic. *Cat. Mai.* 47: *non caret is qui non desiderat; ergo hoc non desiderare dico esse iucundius.*

65 24 **in medium:** the common and rational expression would be *in medio*, as stated by Aulus Gellius (17, 2, 11), who, however, defends *in medium*.

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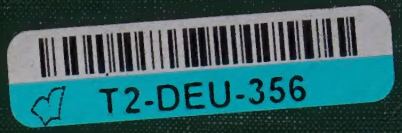
APPENDIX TO THE GERMANIA

Chief variations from the text of the old edition and of Halm.
B = Vaticanus 1862; b = Leidensis; C = Vaticanus 1518; c = Neapolitanus; T = Toletanus; E = Aesinus.

Chapter	New Edition	Old Edition	Halm
3	vocis	voces BbCcET	vocis (Rhenanus)
	ille BbCcET	illae	ille (Rhenanus)
	videtur	videntur BbCcET	videtur (Rhenanus)
4	aliis BbCcET	aliis	[aliis] (Lipsius)
5	propitiine BbET	propitii Cc	propitiine
8	Veledam BcET; Valedam C; Voledam b	Veledam	Velaedam
	Albrunam T (marg.); Albriniam BbE (marg.); fluriniam c	Auriniam BbCET	Albrunam (Wackernagel)
10	apud sacerdotes se enim BbCcET	apud sacerdotes se enim	sacerdotes enim (Wölfflin)
11	pertractentur BbET	pertractentur	praetractentur Cc
	turbae bCc; turbe BET	turbae	turba (Gronovius)
13	propinqui BbET	propinquus Cc	propinqui
	ceteris BbCcET	ceteris	ceteri (Lipsius)
14	enim principis BbCcET	enim principis	enim *a* principis (Acidalius)
15	et publice BbcET	publice C	et publice
16	nullis . . . populis E	nullas . . . populis B bCc; corr. from nullos populos T	nullas . . . populis
	hiemi BbCcET	hiemi	hiemis (Reifferscheid)
	locis BbCcET	locis	loci (Acidalius)
18	rursusque Bb; rursus que ET	rursus, quae c rursusquae C	rursusque

Chapter	New Edition	Old Edition	Halm
19	abscisis ET; adcisis B; accissis C	acisis bc;	abscisis
20	quanto maior; tanto maior BCET	quo maior; quo magis c	quanto maior
21	victus . . . comis BbCcET	victus . . . comis	[victus . . . comis]
25	discriptis	descriptis BbCcET	discriptis (Reiferscheid)
26	in vices BE; in vices^{m} T; vices C; vices c; invicem b	in vices	[vices]
27	quae bCcET; que B	quae	quaeque
28	significatque BCET	signatque bc	significatque
30	Chatti initium . . . incohant cE; inchoant CT; inchoat b	Chatti initium . . . incohant	Chatti: initium . . . incohatur B
	ratione cb^{2}; Roe T; Roē CE	ratione	Romanae; Romane B
	parare BbCcET	parare	parere (Heraeus)
31	vultu BbET	vultu	cultu Cc
34	Dulgubnii; Dulgibnii T (marg.).	Dulgibini BCc; E (marg.)	Dulgubnii (Jac. Grimm)
35	redit BbCcET	redit	recedit (Heraeus)
36	superioris BbCcET	superioris	superiori (Heinsius)
38	retro sequuntur BbcET; retro sequentem C	retro sequuntur	retorquent (Madvig)
	in ipso [solo]; in solo ipso B; in solo (in ipso marg.) ET	in ipso solo	in ipso
		in ipso solo Cc	in ipso
	innoxiae; innoxie BbcET; inopiae C	innoxiae	innoxia (Muretus)
	compti, ut BbCET; compti et c	compti ut	compti [ut]
39	vetustissimos se BbET; vetustissimo se C	vetustissimos se	vetustissimos C
40	proeliis ac BbET	proeliis et Cc	proeliis ac

Chapter	New Edition	Old Edition	Halm
41	passim sine BbET	passim et sine Cc	passim sine
42	peragitur BbCcET	peragitur	praecingitur (Tagmann)
44	ministrantur BbCcET	ministrantur	ministrant (Lipsius)
	otiosae	otiosa BbCcET	otiosae (Colerus)
45	ortus CcET	ortus	ortum Bb
	et fama vera BbCcET	et fama vera	si fama vera (Grotius)
	interlucent BbCcET	interlucent	interiacent
46	torpor procerum BbCcET	torpor procerum	torpor: ora procerum (Heraeus)
	sola ET; sole B	sola	solae
	spes BbCcET	spes	opes (Meiser)
	in medium BbCcET	in medium	in medio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